

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, May 20, 2005

The President's Radio Address

May 14, 2005

Good morning. I'm pleased to report that we see new signs that the progrowth policies we have pursued during the past 4 years are having a positive effect on our economy. We added 274,000 new jobs in April, and we have added nearly 3½ million jobs over the past 2 years. Unemployment is down to 5.2 percent, below the average rate of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. We have seen steady job gains during each of the past 23 months, and today, more Americans are working than at any time in our history.

There are other good reasons for optimism. The economy grew at a solid rate of 3.6 percent over the past four quarters, and economists expect strong growth for the rest of 2005. Manufacturing activity is enjoying its longest period of growth in 16 years. Inflation and mortgage rates remain low, and we have more homeowners in America than ever before.

These positive signs are a tribute to the effort and enterprise of America's workers and entrepreneurs, but we have more to do. So next week, I will focus on three priorities that will strengthen the long-term economic security of our Nation.

On Monday, I will travel to West Point, Virginia, to highlight the benefits of biodiesel, an alternative fuel that will help our country achieve greater energy independence. We'll also discuss our need for a comprehensive national energy strategy that reduces our dependence on foreign oil. This strategy will encourage more efficient technologies, make the most of our existing resources, help global energy consumers like China and India reduce their own use of hydrocarbons, encourage conservation, and develop promising new sources of energy such as hydrogen, ethanol, and biodiesel.

I applaud the House for passing an energy bill that is largely consistent with these goals.

Now the Senate must act. Congress needs to get a good energy bill to my desk by the August recess so I can sign it into law.

On Tuesday, I will welcome our newest United States Trade Representative, former Congressman Rob Portman. Ambassador Portman understands that expanding trade is vital for American workers and consumers. He will make sure we vigorously enforce the trade laws on the books while also working to continue opening foreign markets to American crops and products. The Central America Free Trade Agreement would help us achieve these goals. This agreement would help the new democracies in our hemisphere deliver better jobs and higher labor standards to their workers, and it would create a more level playing field for American goods and services. Congress needs to pass this important legislation.

Finally, on Thursday, I will travel to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to discuss with young people the importance of acting now to strengthen Social Security. The Social Security safety net has a hole in it for younger workers. For the sake of our children and grandchildren, we need to make Social Security permanently solvent. And we need to make the system a better deal for younger workers by allowing them to put some of their payroll taxes, if they so choose, into a voluntary personal retirement account. Because this money will be saved and invested, workers will have the opportunity to earn a higher rate of return on their money than anything the current Social Security system can now give them.

The American economy is the envy of the world. For the sake of our Nation's hard-working families, we must work together to achieve long-term economic security so that we can continue to spread prosperity and hope throughout America and the world.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7:50 a.m. on May 13 in the Cabinet Room at the White House

for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on May 14. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 13 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Remarks at the National Peace Officers' Memorial Service

May 15, 2005

Thank you all. Thank you for the warm welcome. It is an honor and a privilege to join you to pay our respects to our Nation's fallen law enforcement officers. Every year at the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial, we add names of those who have been lost in the line of duty. All of these men and women served the cause of justice. Our Nation stands in admiration and gratitude for their service, and we ask God's blessings for their families and friends they have left behind.

I want to thank Chuck Canterbury for his leadership of the National Fraternal Order of Police. He is a good friend, and I value his friendship. I want to thank Aliza Clark for her leadership as well, and Jim Pasco, who is the executive director of the National FOP. I want to thank Chaplain Ford for his beautiful blessings.

I want to thank members of my Cabinet who are here: Attorney General Al Gonzales; Secretary Elaine Chao; Secretary Mike Chertoff. I thank the FBI Director, Bob Mueller, and the Director of ATF, Carl Truscott, for joining us.

I appreciate the Members of Congress who are here. I want to thank Majority Leader Bill Frist, Senator Pat Leahy. Congressman Dave Reichert from Washington is here with us. He served as a law enforcement officer for over 30 years and received the 2004 National Sheriff's Association Sheriff of the Year Award. Congressman, I appreciate you coming, along with other Members of the Congress.

I especially want to thank Darryl Worley for his beautiful performance of "I Miss My Friend."

There are more than 800,000 men and women who serve as law enforcement in this country. When these brave Americans take

the oath to serve and protect their fellow citizens, they answer a vital calling and accept a profound responsibility. Since America's early days, the badge has represented a pledge to protect the innocent, and Americans honor all who wear that badge.

The tradition of sacrifice and service runs strong amongst law enforcement. The fallen officers we honor this afternoon honored that tradition of service and sacrifice, and the flag of the United States of America flies at half-staff today in memory of their courage.

I thank all the family members who are with us today. Our Nation is grateful to you. We pray that you find strength to bear the loss. And you can know that our Nation will always remember and honor the ones you loved.

I also thank all the law enforcement officers who have come here today to pay tribute to fallen comrades. The bonds between officers are strong, and you look out for each other on sunny mornings and in the shadows of danger. Your loyalty to one another and your service to America do great honor to our system of justice. Thank you for your service.

We're a nation built on the rule of law, and the men and women who enforce those laws uphold America's role as a beacon for fairness and peace. And today we honor 415 new names added to the memorial wall.

Among them are Detroit police officers Matthew Bowens and Jennifer Fettig. The officers were making a routine traffic stop when the suspect opened fire. Though Officer Bowens had already been shot several times, himself, his first concern was for his injured partner. Both officers gave their lives in protecting each other and their fellow citizens, and this Nation of ours will always honor them.

Danger to law enforcement can come from the outskirts of a community, as it did to Bradford County, Pennsylvania, Deputy Chris Burgert. He and his partner, Deputy Mike VanKuren, were shot last March while trying to serve a bench warrant on a known criminal. Chris had been leading a drug investigation that often brought him face to face with danger on rural backroads. And his bravery had brought a string of successes

against a dangerous and volatile set of criminals. His acts took unusual courage, and our Nation will be always grateful for his sacrifice.

Danger can come even in what one thinks is routine investigation. Last May, Arizona police officer Don Schultz was diving for evidence in a murder case when he lost his life. Officer Schultz had been on the force for 19 years and was one of the department's master divers. He died in an act of devotion to duty that was common to him and will always remain extraordinary to us. These are just the examples of the brave we honor today.

Every generation of Americans has produced men and women willing to stand watch for the rest of us. Every generation has lived under the protection of law enforcement. We must never take for granted the police officers of America.

For each friend or family member here today, the engraving on the wall will always glow brightly around one name. We cannot soothe your grief or repay your loved one's sacrifice, but their names are inscribed permanently on this memorial. We acknowledge the lasting debt we owe them and offer the solemn thanks of a grateful nation.

May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:14 p.m. on the West Grounds at the U.S. Capitol. In his remarks, he referred to Chuck Canterbury, national president, James O. Pasco, Jr., executive director, and Kenneth W. Ford, national chaplain, National Fraternal Order of Police; Aliza Clark, president, National Fraternal Order of Police Auxiliary; and entertainer Darryl Worley.

Remarks at the Virginia BioDiesel Refinery in West Point, Virginia

May 16, 2005

Thank you all. Please be seated. Thanks for coming. Thanks for the warm welcome, and thank you for giving me a chance to get out of Washington. [*Laughter*] I'm proud to be the first sitting President to visit this part of Virginia. They tell me George Washington came—[*laughter*—before he was President.

I thought it was time for another George W. to stop by.

I appreciate the folks here at Virginia BioDiesel for showing me around. You know, I love the innovative spirit of our entrepreneurs in this country. And the folks here have got incredible vision, and they're willing to take risk to innovate. What I think is interesting is they have combined farming and modern science. And by doing so, you're using one of the world's oldest industries to power some of the world's newest technologies. After all, they're taking soybeans and converting it to fuel and putting it into brandnew Caterpillar engines.

Biodiesel is one of our Nation's most promising alternative fuel sources. And by developing biodiesel, you're making this country less dependent on foreign sources of oil. As my friend George Allen said, that's the reason I have come. I want to talk about the need for this country to have a comprehensive energy strategy. I appreciate George's leadership, and I appreciate his friendship. You've got a fine United States Senator in Senator George Allen.

And today I took a helicopter down from the White House with our Secretary of Agriculture, Mike Johanns. Mike, thank you for coming. Mike is from the State of Nebraska. For those of you involved with agriculture, he knows something about it, you'll be happy to hear. He was raised on a dairy farm. He's a good man, and I really appreciate he and his lovely wife. He was the Governor of Nebraska when I called him. And he quit, and he came to Washington. And I want to thank you for serving our country, Michael. Thank you very much.

I want to thank the members of the congressional delegation who have joined us, Congressman Bobby Scott, Congresswoman Jo Ann Davis, Congressman Eric Cantor, Congressman Randy Forbes, Congresswoman Thelma Drake—she brought her husband, Ted, with her. Thank you all for serving. I enjoy working with you all.

I want to thank a member of the statehouse who is here; State Senator Walter Stosch is with us today. Walter, thank you for coming.

The mayor is here from the city of West Point, Andy Conklin. I want to thank you,

Mr. Mayor, for joining us. I like to tell mayors—they never ask for my advice; I give it anyway when I see them—and that is: Fill the potholes. *[Laughter]*

I want to thank the administrator, John Budesky, for joining us. I want to thank all the State and local officials. I want to thank you all for coming as well. It's such a beautiful day to be outside, isn't it?

I want to thank Douglas Faulkner, who is the managing member of the Virginia Bio-Diesel Refinery. Thank you, Douglas, for—there he is right there. Douglas has brought a lot of his family here. He brought his father, Norman, and brother, Norman, the Norman boys. *[Laughter]*

Thank Allen Schaeffer as well. And I want to thank the folks who lent the equipment for this event.

One of the things that is really important for Government is to make sure that the environment is such that the entrepreneurial spirit remains strong. Ever since I've been elected, I tell people that the role of Government is not to try to create wealth but an environment in which people are willing to take risks. That's the role of Government.

And across our Nation, small businesses like Virginia BioDiesel are taking risks and are developing innovative products. As a matter of fact, small businesses create most of the new jobs in America. I don't know if you know that or not, but 70 percent of new jobs in this country are created by small businesses and entrepreneurs. And I'm pleased to report that the small-business sector of America is strong today. As a matter of fact, over the last 2 years we have added 3.5 million new jobs. More Americans are working today than ever in our Nation's history.

The national unemployment rate is down to 5.2 percent. That's below the average rate of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. And the unemployment rate in the great Commonwealth of Virginia is 3.3 percent. And over the next years, we've got to continue to build on this progress. To make sure our families are strong and businesses are strong and our farmers can stay in business, we have got to keep taxes low, and we will. As a matter of fact, for the sake of our family farmers and for the sake of our entrepreneurs, we'll make sure the death tax stays on the path to extinc-

tion. We'll continue to cut needless regulations, and I'm going to continue to work with Congress to stop the spread of junk lawsuits.

We're going to be wise with your money. We've got a simple motto in my office when it comes to spending your money. One, we understand it's your money and not the Government's money. And secondly, we're going to work to ensure that every taxpayer dollar is spent wisely or not at all. We'll continue to open up foreign markets to America's crops and products and ensure a level playing field for American farmers and producers and workers.

And to guarantee Americans have a secure and dignified retirement—if you're getting your check, you don't have anything to worry about on this issue. You need to worry about your children and your grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. To make sure we have a retirement system that works for a future generation of Americans, Congress must work with me to strengthen and save Social Security for a generation to come.

And to keep creating jobs and to keep this economy growing, it is important for our country to understand we need an affordable, reliable supply of energy. And that starts with pursuing policies to make prices reasonable at the pump. Today's gasoline prices and diesel prices are making it harder for our families to meet their budgets. These prices are making it more expensive for farmers to produce their crop, more difficult for businesses to create jobs.

Americans are concerned about high prices at the pump, and they're really concerned as they start making their travel plans, and I understand that. I wish I could just wave a magic wand and lower the price at the pump; I'd do that. That's not how it works. You see, the high prices we face today have been decades in the making. Four years ago, I laid out a comprehensive energy strategy to address our energy challenges. Yet Congress hasn't passed energy legislation. For the sake of the American consumers, it is time to confront our problems now and not pass them on to future Congresses and future generations.

The increase in the price of crude oil is largely responsible for the higher gas prices and diesel prices that you're paying at the

pump. For many years, most of the crude oil refined into gasoline in America came from home, came from domestic oilfields. In 1985, 75 percent of the crude oil used in U.S. refineries came from American sources; only about 25 percent came from abroad. Over the past few decades, we've seen a dramatic change in our energy equation. American gasoline consumption has increased by about a third, while our crude production has dropped and oil imports have risen dramatically.

The result today—the result is that today only 35 percent—only 35 percent—of the crude oil used in U.S. refineries comes from here at home; 65 percent comes from foreign countries like Saudi Arabia and Mexico and Canada and Venezuela. You see, we're growing more dependent on foreign oil. Because we haven't had an energy strategy, we're becoming more dependent on countries outside our borders to provide us with the energy needed to refine gasoline. To compound the problem, countries with rapidly growing economies, like India and China, are competing for more of the world oil supply. And that drives up the price of oil, and that makes prices at the pump even higher for American families and businesses and farmers.

Our dependence on foreign oil is like a foreign tax on the American Dream, and that tax is growing every year. My administration is doing all we can to help ease the problem in the short run. We're encouraging oil-producing countries to maximize their production so that more crude oil is on the market, which will help take the pressure off price. We'll make sure that consumers here at home are treated fairly; there's not going to be any price-gouging here in America. But to solve the problem in the long run, we must address the root causes of high gasoline prices. We need to take four steps toward one vital goal, and that is to make America less dependent on foreign sources of oil.

We must be better conservers. We must produce and refine more crude oil here in America. We must help countries like India and China to reduce their demand for crude oil. And we've got to develop new fuels like biodiesel and ethanol as alternatives to diesel and gasoline.

Americans have been waiting long enough for a strategy. It is time to deliver an effective, commonsense energy strategy for the 21st century. And that's what I want to talk to you about today.

The first step toward making America less dependent on foreign oil is to improve fuel conservation and efficiency. My administration is leading research into new technologies that reduce gas consumption while maintaining performance, such as lightweight auto parts and more efficient batteries.

We're raising fuel economy standards for sport utility vehicles and vans and pickup trucks, starting with model year 2005. When these reasonable increases in mileage standards take full effect, they will save American drivers about 340,000 barrels of gasoline a day. That's more gas than you consume every day in the entire State of Virginia.

To improve fuel efficiency, we're also taking advantage of more efficient engine technologies. Hybrid vehicles are powered by a combination of internal combustion engine and an electric motor. Hybrid cars and trucks can travel twice as far on a gallon of fuel as gasoline-only vehicles, and they produce lower emissions. To help more consumers conserve gas and protect the environment, my budget next year proposes that every American who purchases a hybrid vehicle receive a tax credit of up to \$4,000.

Diesel engine technology has also progressed dramatically in the past few decades. Many Americans remember the diesel cars of the 1970s. They made a lot of noise, and they spewed a lot of black smoke. Advances in technology and new rules issued by my administration have allowed us to leave those days of diesel behind. Our clean diesel rules will reduce air pollution from diesel engines by about 90 percent and reduce the sulfur content of diesel fuel by more than 95 percent.

Today I saw a diesel-powered truck that can get up to 30 percent better fuel economy than gasoline-powered vehicles without the harmful emissions of past diesels. I mean, the fellow got in the truck and cranked it up, and another man got on the ladder and he put the white handkerchief by the emissions port, and the white handkerchief remained white. In other words, technology is

changing the world. Our engines are becoming cleaner.

Consumers around the world are taking advantage of clean diesel technology. About half of newly registered passenger cars in Western Europe are now equipped with diesel engines. Yet in America, fewer than 1 percent of the cars on the road use diesel. According to the Department of Energy, if diesel vehicles made up 20 percent of our fleet in 15 years, we would save 350,000 barrels of oil a day. That's about a quarter of what we import every day from Venezuela.

To help more Americans benefit from a new generation of diesel technology, I have proposed making owners of clean diesel vehicles eligible for the same tax credit as owners of hybrid vehicles. America leads the world in technology. We need to use that technology to lead the world in fuel efficiency.

The second step toward making America less dependent on foreign oil is to produce and refine more crude oil here at home in environmentally sensitive ways. By far the most promising site for oil in America is the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska. I want you all to hear the facts about what we're talking about. Technology now makes it possible to reach the oil reserves in ANWR by drilling on just 2,000 acres of the 19 million acres. Technology has advanced to the point where you can take a small portion—2,000 acres—of this vast track of land and explore for oil in an environmentally sensitive way.

As a matter of fact, developing this tiny area could yield up to about a million barrels of oil a day. And thanks to technology, we can reach that oil with almost no impact on land or wildlife. To make this country less dependent on foreign oil, Congress needs to authorize pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-environment exploration of ANWR.

As we produce more of our own oil, we need to improve our ability to refine it into gasoline. There has not been a single new refinery built in America since 1976. Here in Virginia, you have only one oil refinery, the Yorktown refinery. And that was built in the 1950s. To meet our growing demand for gasoline, America now imports more than a million barrels of fully refined gasoline every day. That means about one of every nine gal-

lons of gas you get in your pump is refined in a foreign country. To help secure our gasoline supply and lower prices at the pump, we need to encourage existing refineries like Yorktown to expand their capacity. So the Environmental Protection Agency is simplifying rules and regulations for refinery expansion. And they will do so and maintain strict environmental safeguards at the same time.

We also need to build new refineries. So I've directed Federal agencies to work with States to encourage the construction of new refineries on closed military facilities and to simplify the permitting process for these new refineries. By promoting reasonable regulations, we can refine more gasoline for more American consumers. And that means we're less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

The third step toward making America less dependent on foreign oil is to ensure that other nations use technology to reduce their own demand for crude oil. It's in our interest—it's in our economic interest and our national interest to help countries like India and China become more efficient users of oil, because that would help take the pressure off global oil supply, take the pressure off prices here at home. At the G-8 meeting in July, I'm going to ask other world leaders to join America in helping developing countries find practical ways to use clean energy technology, to be more efficient about how they use energy. You see, when the global demand for oil is lower, Americans will be better off at the gas pump.

The final step toward making America less dependent on foreign oil is to develop new alternatives to gasoline and diesel. Here at Virginia BioDiesel, you are using Virginia soybean oil to produce a clean-burning fuel. Other biodiesel refiners are making fuel from waste products like recycled cooking grease. Biodiesel can be used in any vehicle that runs on regular diesel and delivers critical environmental and economic benefits.

Biodiesel burns more completely and produces less air pollution than gasoline or regular diesel. Biodiesel also reduces engine wear and produces almost no sulfur emissions, which makes it a good choice for cities and States working to meet strict air quality standards. And every time we use home-

grown biodiesel, we support American farmers, not foreign oil producers.

More Americans are realizing the benefits of biodiesel every year. In 1999, biodiesel producers sold about 500,000 gallons of fuel for the year. Last year, biodiesel sales totaled 30 million gallons. That's a 60-fold increase in 5 years. More than 500 operators of major vehicle fleets now use biodiesel, including the Department of Defense and the National Park Service and James Madison University. The County of Arlington, Virginia, has converted its fleet of school buses to biodiesel, and Harrisonburg is using biodiesel in its city transit buses.

In the past 3 years, more than 300 public fueling stations have started offering biodiesel. You're beginning to see a new industry evolve. And as more Americans choose biodiesel over petroleum fuel, they can be proud in knowing they're helping to make this country less dependent on foreign oil.

Another important alternative fuel is ethanol. Ethanol comes from corn, and it can be mixed with gasoline to produce a clean, efficient fuel. In low concentrations, ethanol can be used in any vehicle. And with minor modifications, vehicles can run on fuel blend that includes 85 percent ethanol and only 15 percent gasoline.

Like biodiesel, ethanol helps communities to meet clean air standards, farmers to find new markets for their products, and America to replace foreign crude oil with a renewable source grown right here in the Nation's heartland. Together, ethanol and biodiesel present a tremendous opportunity to diversify our supply of fuel for cars and buses and trucks and heavy-duty vehicles.

A recent study by Oak Ridge National Laboratory projected that biofuels, such as ethanol and biodiesel, could provide about a fifth of America's transportation fuel within 25 years. And that would be good for our kids and our grandkids. So there are some things we can do to bring that prospect closer to reality. We have extended Federal tax credits for ethanol through 2007, and last year I signed into law a 50-cent-per-gallon tax credit for producers of biodiesel.

There's ways Government can help. Congress needs to get me a bill that continues to help diversify away from crude oil. My ad-

ministration supports a flexible, cost-effective renewable fuel standard. Its proposal would require fuel producers to include a certain percentage of ethanol and biodiesel in their fuel. And to expand the potential of ethanol and biodiesel even more, I proposed \$84 million in my 2006 budget for ongoing research. I think it makes sense. I think it's a good use of taxpayers' money to continue to stay on the leading edge of change. And in this case, by staying on the leading edge of change we become less dependent on foreign sources of oil.

My administration is also supporting another of America's most promising alternative fuels, hydrogen. When hydrogen is used in a fuel cell, it can power a car that requires no gas and emits pure water instead of exhaust fumes. We've already dedicated \$1.2 billion to hydrogen fuel cell research. I've asked Congress for an additional 500 million over 5 years to get hydrogen cars into the dealership lot. With a bold investment now, we can replace a hydrocarbon economy with a hydrogen economy and make possible for today's children to take their driver's test in a completely pollution-free car.

As we make America less dependent on foreign oil, we're pursuing a comprehensive strategy to address other energy challenges facing our Nation. Along with high gas prices, many families and small businesses are confronting rising electricity bills. Summer air-conditioning costs are going to make it even more expensive for our homes and office buildings. To help consumers save on their power bills, we'll continue expanding efforts to conserve electricity. We're funding research into energy-efficient technologies for our homes, such as highly efficient windows and appliances.

To ensure the electricity is delivered efficiently, Congress must make reliability standards for electric utilities mandatory, not optional. We've got modern interstate grids for our phone lines and highways. It is time to put practical law in place so we can have modern electricity grids as well. All this modernization of our electricity grid is contained in the electricity title in the energy bill I submitted to the United States Congress.

To power our growing economy, we also need to generate more electricity. Electricity

comes from three principal sources, coal and natural gas and nuclear power. To ensure that electricity is affordable and reliable, America must improve our use of all three. Coal is our Nation's most abundant energy resource, and it provides about half of your electricity here in Virginia. As a matter of fact, we got coal reserves that will last us for 250 more years. But coal presents an environmental challenge. We know that. So I've asked Congress to provide more than \$2 billion over 10 years for a Coal Research Initiative, a program that will promote new technologies to remove virtually all pollutants from coal-fired powerplants.

My Clear Skies Initiative will also result in tens of billions of dollars in clean coal investments by private companies. It will help communities across the State meet stricter air quality standards. To help Virginia clean your air and keep your coal, Congress needs to get the Clear Skies bill to my desk this year.

Improving our electricity supply also means making better use of natural gas. It's an important power source for our farmers and manufacturers and homeowners. We need to increase environmentally responsible production of natural gas from Federal lands. To further increase our natural gas supply, Congress needs to make clear Federal authority to choose sites for new receiving terminals for liquified natural gas. In other words, we're getting a lot of natural gas from overseas that gets liquified, and we've got to be able to deliquify it so we can get it into your homes. And we need more terminals, and Congress needs to give us the authority to site those terminals in order to get you more natural gas.

I don't know if you realize this, but here in Virginia, you get about a third of your electricity from nuclear energy. Yet America has not ordered a nuclear powerplant since the 1970s. France, by contrast, has built 58 plants in the same period. And today, France gets more than 78 percent of its electricity from nuclear power. In order to make sure you get electricity at reasonable prices and in order to make sure our air remains clean, it is time for us to start building some nuclear powerplants in America.

Technology has made it so I can say to you, I am confident we can build safe nuclear powerplants for you. Last month I directed the Department of Energy to work with Congress to reduce uncertainty in the nuclear powerplant licensing process. We're also working to provide other incentives to encourage new plant construction, such as Federal insurance to protect the builders of the first four new plants against lawsuits and bureaucratic obstacles and other delays beyond their control. A secure energy future for this country must include safe and clean nuclear power.

Many of the initiatives I've discussed today—and I recognize this is a comprehensive plan, but that's what we need in America; we need a comprehensive plan—and many of these initiatives are contained in the energy bill before the Congress. I want to thank the House for passing the energy bill last month. And now it's time for the United States Senate to act. You don't have to worry about George Allen. He'll take the lead.

For the past 4 years, Americans have seen the cost of delaying a national energy policy. You've seen firsthand what it means when the Nation's Capital gets locked down with too much politics and not enough action on behalf of the American people. You've seen it through rising power bills; you've seen it through blackouts and high prices at the pump. Four years of debate is enough. It is time for the House and the Senate to come together and to get a good energy bill to my desk by August, and I'll sign it into law.

I've set big goals for our Nation's energy policy, and I am confident our Nation can meet those goals. Americans have a long history of overcoming problems through determination and through technology. Not long ago the prospect of running a car on fuel made from soybean oil seemed pretty unlikely. I imagine 30 years ago, a politician saying, "Vote for me, and I'll see to it that your car can run on soybean oil," wouldn't get very far. *[Laughter]* Here we are, standing in front of a refinery that makes it.

We've got a lot of innovators in America, just like the folks here at Virginia BioDiesel. No doubt in my mind the innovative spirit of this country is going to make certain that our children and grandchildren will grow up

in a more secure America, an America less dependent on foreign sources of oil. And the first place to start is for the United States Congress to pass that bill, based upon a comprehensive strategy that's going to work on behalf of this country.

I want to thank you for giving me a chance to come and share my thoughts with you. God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Stephanie Johanns, wife of Secretary of Agriculture Mike Johanns; Walter A. Stosch, majority leader, Virginia State Senate; Mayor Andrew J. Conklin of West Point, VA; John Budesky, administrator, New Kent County, VA; Douglas E. Faulkner, managing member, Norman L. Faulkner, partner, and Norman F. Faulkner, partner, Virginia BioDiesel; and Allen Schaeffer, executive director, Diesel Technology Forum.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for the Strengthening of the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission

May 16, 2005

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Convention for the Strengthening of the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission established by the 1949 Convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Costa Rica, with Annexes, (the "Antigua Convention"), which was adopted on June 27, 2003, in Antigua, Guatemala, by the Parties to the 1949 Convention. The United States signed the Antigua Convention on November 14, 2003. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Antigua Convention, with an enclosure.

The Antigua Convention sets forth the legal obligations and establishes the cooperative mechanisms necessary for the long-term conservation and sustainable use of the highly migratory fish stocks (such as tuna and swordfish) of the Eastern Pacific Ocean that range across extensive areas of the high seas as well as through waters under the fisheries jurisdiction of numerous coastal States. Once

in force, the Antigua Convention will replace the original 1949 Convention establishing the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission (IATTC). Revisions to the 1949 Convention will strengthen the mandate of the IATTC to reflect changes in the law governing living marine resources since the adoption of the original Convention more than 50 years ago.

The highly migratory fish stocks governed by the Antigua Convention constitute an important economic resource for the countries of the region and vital components of the marine ecosystem of the Eastern Pacific Ocean requiring careful conservation and management. Early entry into force and implementation of the Antigua Convention will offer the opportunity to strengthen conservation and management of these resources in important ways, including through enhanced efforts to ensure compliance and enforcement of agreed conservation and management measures.

The Antigua Convention draws upon relevant provisions of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (the "LOS Convention") and the 1995 United Nations Agreement on the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks (the "U.N. Fish Stocks Agreement"). The Antigua Convention gives effect to the provisions of the LOS Convention and U.N. Fish Stocks Agreement that recognize as essential, and require cooperation to conserve highly migratory fish stocks through regional fishery management organizations, by those with direct interests in them—coastal States with authority to manage fishing in waters under their jurisdiction and those nations and entities whose vessels fish for these stocks.

The United States, which played an instrumental role in negotiation of the revised Convention, has direct and important interests in the Antigua Convention and its early and effective implementation. United States fishing concerns, including the U.S. tuna industry, U.S. conservation organizations, and U.S. consumers, as well as those people who reside in those U.S. States bordering the Convention Area, have crucial stakes in the health of the oceans and their resources as promoted by the Antigua Convention.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Antigua Convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 16, 2005.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on the Conservation and Management of the Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean, With Annexes

May 16, 2005

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Convention on the Conservation and Management of the Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean, with Annexes (the “WCPF Convention”), which was adopted at Honolulu on September 5, 2000, by the Multilateral High Level Conference on the Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean. The United States signed the Convention on that date. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the WCPF Convention.

The WCPF Convention sets forth legal obligations and establishes cooperative mechanisms that are needed in order to ensure the long-term conservation and sustainable use of highly migratory fish stocks (such as tuna, swordfish, and marlin) that range across extensive areas of the high seas as well as through waters under the fisheries jurisdiction of numerous coastal States. These constitute resources of worldwide importance, with the fisheries for tuna in the Western and Central Pacific being the largest and most valuable in the world. Implementation of the WCPF Convention will offer the opportunity to conserve and manage these resources responsibly before they become subject to the pressures of overfishing and over-

capacity that are so evident elsewhere in the world’s oceans.

The WCPF Convention builds upon the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the 1995 United Nations Agreement on the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks. The WCPF Convention gives effect to the provisions of these two instruments, which recognize cooperation to conserve highly migratory fish stocks as essential, and require those with direct interests in them—coastal States with authority to manage fishing in waters under their jurisdiction and nations whose vessels fish for these stocks—to engage in such cooperation through regional fishery management organizations.

The WCPF Convention balances in an equitable fashion the interests of coastal States, notably the island States that comprise the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), in protecting important fishery resources off their shores, and the interests of distant water fishing States, notably Asian fishing nations and entities (Japan, Republic of Korea, China, and Taiwan), whose fishing vessels range far from their own shores.

The United States, which played an instrumental role in achieving this balance, has direct and important interests in the WCPF Convention and its early and effective implementation. The United States is both a major distant water fishing nation (with the fourth-largest catch in the region) and an important coastal State with significant Exclusive Economic Zone waters in the region (including the waters around Hawaii, American Samoa, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands).

United States fishing concerns, including the U.S. tuna industry, U.S. conservation organizations, and U.S. consumers, as well as those residents of Hawaii and the U.S. Flag Pacific island areas of Guam, American Samoa, and the Northern Mariana Islands, all have a crucial stake in the health of the oceans and their resources as promoted by the WCPF Convention.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the WCPF

Convention and give its advice and consent to its ratification.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 16, 2005.

**Remarks at a Swearing-In Ceremony
for Robert J. Portman as United
States Trade Representative**
May 17, 2005

The President. Thank you all for coming. I'm pleased to congratulate a distinguished public servant, Rob Portman, on becoming our new United States Trade Representative.

It's an honor to be with Rob's dad as well as Jane and Jed and Will and Sally. Glad you all are here. It's always great when our Trade Representative has teenagers in the house. [Laughter] It helps him become a skilled negotiator. [Laughter] I appreciate the other members of the Portman family who have joined us.

I thank members of my Cabinet who are here. Josh Bolten, thank you for coming. I appreciate Peter Allgeier, who is the Deputy U.S. Trade Minister. Peter, good to see you, sir.

I want to thank the Members of Congress who came, David Camp from Michigan, Paul Ryan from Wisconsin—and Janna. I appreciate—I'm not through yet—[laughter]—

Audience member. I'm sorry, sir. [Laughter]

The President. —and Melissa Hart. Rick Lazio, former Member, thank you for coming.

I want to thank the Ambassadors who are here, diplomatic corps, *embajadores de Central America*, as well as other ambassadors—welcome.

Ambassador Portman will be carrying on the superb work done by Bob Zoellick. Under Ambassador Zoellick's outstanding leadership, the U.S. Trade Representative's Office has worked with Congress to pass trade promotion authority. We've completed free trade agreements with 12 nations on 5 continents. And those agreements will open a combined market of 124 million consumers for America's farmers, small businesses, and manufacturers. I want to thank all the men

and women at the USTR for the good work they have done.

Ambassador Portman is the right man to carry on this important work. He has a great record as a champion of free and fair trade. In his early days as an attorney, he specialized in international trade law. Throughout his time in Congress, he built a reputation as a steadfast proponent of the power of open markets to spread hope and prosperity around the world. As an Ohioan, Rob knows how much American farmers and workers depend on our export markets and how the expansion of agreements around the world can contribute to our economy here at home.

To advance our trade agenda, we have three priorities in the months ahead. Our first trade priority is to pass the Central American and Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement, known as CAFTA. That is an important priority of this administration, and it should be an important priority of the United States Congress. Last week, I met with the six Presidents from the nations. We all share an interest in prosperity for our people and peace in the region, and CAFTA gives us an historic opportunity to advance these common goals.

The agreement does four key things: It will level the playing field for American farmers and businesses; it will help our economy; it will make the region more competitive with Asia; and it will strengthen democracy in our backyard. At the moment, about 80 percent of imports from the region already enter the United States duty-free. Our market is open to the goods from CAFTA nations. CAFTA will open the region's markets of 44 million consumers to our goods and our services and our crops. CAFTA will also lower barriers in key segments like textiles. This would put CAFTA countries and America in a better position to compete with low-cost producers in Asia.

As it opens the Western Hemisphere markets, CAFTA will also bring the stability and security that can only come from freedom. Today, a part of the world that was once characterized by unrest and dictatorship now sees its future in free elections and free trade, and we must not take these gains for granted. These are small nations, but they are making big and brave commitments, and America

needs to continue to support them as they walk down the road of openness and accountability. By transforming our hemisphere into a powerful free trade area, we will promote democratic governance and human rights and the economic liberty for everyone. CAFTA is a really important piece of legislation.

Our second trade priority is to encourage the Doha Development Agenda now being pursued by the World Trade Organization. This new framework is the largest negotiation of its kind in history, and it would reduce and eliminate tariffs in key industry sectors and unfair agricultural subsidies and open the global market in services.

Finally, our third trade priority is to ensure that those who sign trade agreements live up to their terms. China's membership in the World Trade Organization has been a good thing for America. Our exports to China have increased 81 percent since China's entry into the WTO. When it joined the WTO, China also agreed to the rules of international trade, and it's in the interest of both China and the United States for China to abide by them.

One reason I selected Ambassador Portman for this job is because I know he'll work to see that our farmers and our workers and service providers are treated fairly. Ambassador Portman will work to ensure that China stops the piracy of U.S. intellectual property, lifts the barriers that are keeping our goods and services out of China, and demonstrates its commitment to transparency and distribution rights for our products.

America is a nation founded on the idea of open exchange, and free and fair trade is a win-win for all sides. By opening new markets, we'll increase prosperity for our small businesses and farmers and manufacturers and create jobs for American workers. By enforcing trade laws and agreements, we will ensure a level playing field for America's workers. American workers can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere when the rules are fair.

Rob Portman is America's Trade Representative. He's also my friend. I know his integrity and his wisdom and his dedication. And I know he's the right man to carry out

our bold agenda at this important moment for world trade.

I want to thank you all again for coming. Congratulations, Rob.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:34 p.m. in Room 450 of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Ambassador Portman's father, William Portman, his wife, Jane Portman, and their children, Joseph "Jed" Portman, William Portman, and Sarah "Sally" Portman; Janna Ryan, wife of Representative Paul Ryan; and former Representative Rick Lazio of New York. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Ambassador Portman.

Notice—Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Burma

May 17, 2005

On May 20, 1997, the President issued Executive Order 13047, certifying to the Congress under section 570(b) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1997 (Public Law 104-208), that the Government of Burma has committed large-scale repression of the democratic opposition in Burma after September 30, 1996, thereby invoking the prohibition on new investment in Burma by United States persons contained in that section. The President also declared a national emergency to deal with the threat posed to the national security and foreign policy of the United States by the actions and policies of the Government of Burma, invoking the authority, *inter alia*, of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.* On July 28, 2003, I issued Executive Order 13310 taking additional steps with respect to that national emergency by putting in place an import ban required by the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003 and prohibiting exports of financial services to Burma and the dealing in property in which certain designated Burmese persons have an interest.

Because the actions and policies of the Government of Burma continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the

United States, the national emergency declared on May 20, 1997, and the measures adopted on that date to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond May 20, 2005. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency with respect to Burma. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 17, 2005.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:29 a.m., May 17, 2005]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on May 18.

**Message to the Congress on
Continuation of the National
Emergency With Respect to Burma**
May 17, 2005

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. I have sent the enclosed notice to the *Federal Register* for publication, which states that the Burma emergency is to continue beyond May 20, 2005. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was published in the *Federal Register* on May 19, 2004 (69 FR 29041).

The crisis between the United States and Burma arising from the actions and policies of the Government of Burma that led to the declaration of a national emergency on May 20, 1997, has not been resolved. These actions and policies, including its policies of committing large-scale repression of the democratic opposition in Burma, are hostile to U.S. interests and pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national

security and foreign policy of the United States. For this reason, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency with respect to Burma and maintain in force the sanctions against Burma to respond to this threat.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 17, 2005.

**Remarks at the Republican National
Committee Dinner**

May 17, 2005

Thank you all very much. Thanks for coming. Thanks for coming. Please be seated. [Laughter] Thank you for the warm welcome. Thank you for supporting the Republican Party. I am proud to be here today to not only offer my thanks but to remind you that our party has a positive, hopeful, optimistic vision for every single person who is fortunate enough to be an American.

We are driving the debate on all key domestic and foreign policy issues. Because of our achievements, the American people see the Republican Party as the party of reform and optimism, the party of ideals and vision. And one of the reasons I asked Ken Mehlman to serve as the chairman of our party is because he is a man of vision; he is an idealistic soul. He is willing to take our message to every neighborhood in the United States of America. He did a fabulous job in managing my campaign in 2004. I'm proud to call him chairman of the Republican Party.

The Comedian in Chief—[laughter]—is tied up, but she sends her love. Many of you know Laura as a friend. I'm fortunate to know her as a wife. She is a great mother and a fabulous First Lady for the United States. If you ever want to get a laugh, all you have to do is poke fun at the President and his mother. [Laughter]

I want to thank my Secretary of Interior; Gale Norton is with us.

I want to thank the Members of Congress who are here. I just had a chance to shake hands with Leader Bill Frist, who's doing a

fabulous job. I enjoy working with the leadership of the House. Denny Hastert is a great Speaker of the House. Tom DeLay is a fine majority leader. Roy Blunt is a great whip. I thank all the Members of the Senate who are here, Members of the House who are here.

I appreciate my friend Governor Haley Barbour from the great State of Mississippi, who has joined us.

I want to thank Dwight Schar, the RNC finance chairman, and his wife, Martha. And I want to thank all the committee who is up here for working so hard to make this a successful evening. I appreciate your leadership. I appreciate your hard work. I appreciate your contributions. I want to thank Jo Ann Davidson, the RNC cochairman.

I appreciate my friend Ambassador Mercer Reynolds, who is here. You might have heard from Mercer—[laughter]—in the course of the 2004 year. [Laughter] I appreciate his hard work on my behalf.

I want to thank The Spinners, and I want to thank Ricky Skaggs.

But most of all, I thank you all. I want to thank you for supporting this event, and I want to thank you for supporting our party over the past years.

You know, we took on the 2004 campaign with good ideas and a bold agenda. But the reason the people listened is because we did a lot in 2000 and 2002—2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004. In other words, we came to Washington, DC, to solve problems. We came with some principles on how to solve those problems. And most importantly, we have shown the American people we're capable of delivering results that are good for the American people.

I mean, we understand that when you face economic hard times, the best way to get out of a recession is to let people keep more of their own money. We understand that when entrepreneurs and small businesses have more money in their treasury, they're more likely to hire somebody. And the economic policies we put in place during rough economic times are paying off. Our economy is growing. Since May 2003, we've added 3½ million new jobs. More people are working in America today than ever before in our Nation's history.

We came to Washington to challenge the status quo when it came to education. A lot of us were appalled at a system that just simply shuffled kids through the system. And so we wanted to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations. And we successfully have challenged the soft bigotry of low expectations by insisting on high results and measurement so we can determine whether or not every child is learning to read and write and add and subtract. Because we acted, test scores are rising in America, the achievement gap for minority students is closing, the door of opportunity in our great country is opening more and more to every single child. No child will be left behind in America.

We came to Washington to help keep commitments. Our Nation has made a commitment to health care for our seniors. And yet, the Medicare system that was available for our seniors was old and antiquated. We modernized Medicare. We said to seniors that you've got to have a medicine—a medical system that is up to date and current. Because we acted, we have given our seniors the medicine and pharmaceuticals that they deserve and they need to have good health care in their elder years.

And we believe in ownership. We want more people owning something in America. We want more entrepreneurs owning their own business. Do you realize, today, more people own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. More minority families own a home than ever before in our Nation's history. Our party likes the idea when somebody opens their door and say, "Welcome to my house. Welcome to my piece of property." We understand that when you own something, you have a vital stake in the future of the United States of America.

No, we came to Washington to solve problems, and a major problem was presented to us, and that was the problem of a terrorist attack. But we acted. We put together the Homeland Security Department. It's the largest reorganization of Government in nearly a half a century. And I put good people in positions of responsibility and authority. I've asked them to streamline our Government so that I can look you in the eye and tell you, "The United States Government

is doing everything we can to protect the people of this country.” But the best way to protect the people of America is to stay on the offense against the terrorists and bring them to justice.

We have supported the United States military, and I can’t tell you how proud I am to be the Commander in Chief of such a fine group of men and women. We’ve closed down terrorist networks and cells. We’ve disrupted their finances. We have chased their leaders down in mountains and deserts. We have been relentless, and we will stay relentless.

Our most important duty is to protect the American people from these coldblooded killers. And when the American President speaks, he must mean what he says. And I meant what I said, “If you harbor a terrorist, you’re equally as guilty as the terrorist.” And I was speaking directly to people like the Taliban. And because we acted, not only did we uphold doctrine and enhance the credibility of the United States of America, but we freed nearly 30 million people from the clutches of one of the most barbaric regimes in the history of mankind. And I took great heart in recognizing that the first voter in the first Presidential election in years in Afghanistan was a 19-year-old woman.

Because we acted, the Middle East and the world are rid of Saddam Hussein and his murderous regime. And like you, I was overwhelmed by the courage of the over 8 million Iraqis who defied the suiciders and car bombers and assassins to cast their vote in the country’s first free and democratic election in decades. We were successful. We delivered results because we stayed true to our principles, and we were not afraid to push forward with new ideas.

Let me put it to you this way: I do not need a poll or a focus group to tell me where I need to lead this country. In the midst of the Civil War, the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, said, “As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew.” And we continue that proud tradition today, as we’re heading into the second term.

Many of the most fundamental systems, the Tax Code, pension plans, health coverage, legal systems, and public education, were created to meet the needs of an earlier

time. In the next 4 years, we’ll reform these institutions to meet the needs of a new century. See, we have a duty. The job of the President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations.

And that’s why I’m talking about Social Security, and the debate has only just begun. But I believe the side of reform is going to prevail, because the American people now are beginning to realize we have a serious problem when it comes to Social Security. And that problem begins with people like me. See, I’m fixing to retire. *[Laughter]* As a matter of fact, I turn retirement age in 2008. It turns out to be a convenient time. *[Laughter]* But there’s a lot of people like me; there’s a lot of baby boomers getting ready to retire. As a matter of fact, when we fully retire there will be over 70 million people retired. To put that in perspective, today there are 40 million retirees. So there’s a lot of us who will be receiving greater benefits.

They used to say when you’re running for Congress, “Vote for me. I’m going to increase the benefits.” *[Laughter]* Sure enough, people got elected—*[laughter]*—and they increased the benefits. *[Laughter]* To compound things even worse, we’re going to live longer. I urge you to exercise on a daily basis. *[Laughter]* You got a lot of people receiving greater benefits, living longer, with fewer people paying into the system. In 2017, the Social Security system goes into the red.

See, somebody—as I travel the country—and I’m going to go to Milwaukee here later on this week for yet another stop—this is an education program. I’ve got to educate people about the truth, about the reality. See, a lot of people think there’s a lockbox—*[laughter]*—that we take your money, and we save it for you. This is a pay-as-you-go system. You pay your payroll taxes, and we go ahead and spend it here in Washington, DC. *[Laughter]* In 2017, the system goes into the red. In 2027, we’re \$200 billion short on what we owe people like me, relative to the payroll taxes. In 2041, the system goes bankrupt. We’ve got a serious problem.

We don’t have a problem for those people receiving Social Security today. As a matter of fact, if you were born prior to 1950, the system is in good shape. You’re going to get

your check. We have a problem for generations to come, and now is the time to act. Now is the time for people to come together and solve this problem once and for all.

Not only do we need to save Social Security permanently for younger generations, we've got to make it a better deal for people coming up. That's why I believe younger people ought to be able to take some of their own money and set it aside in a voluntary personal savings account, so they can get a better rate of return on their money than the Government can get for them. But this idea has got more benefits to our society than just better rates of return. See, I don't subscribe to the notion that only certain people are a part of the investor class. I believe every American should be a part of the investor class. I believe every American should be encouraged to own assets, so they can pass it on to whomever they choose, assets that the Federal Government can never take away.

Our party is the party of growth, and we're showing the country we're also the party of spending restraint. That's why I submitted the first budget to actually cut non-security, discretionary spending since Ronald Reagan was in office. Congress is on track to hold nondiscretionary—non-security, discretionary spending below last year's levels. And that's an important message to send. And the message is this: We're going to spend your money wisely, or we're not going to spend it at all.

Our Tax Code is out of date. It is incoherent. [*Laughter*] We spend too many hours trying to figure it out. So I've appointed a bipartisan panel to examine the code from top to bottom. And when their recommendations are delivered, we're going to work together to put together a Tax Code that is progrowth, pro-entrepreneur, easy to understand, and fair to all.

I've been spending some time talking about a subject that I know is dear to your heart. See, you've been going to the gasoline pumps lately. This country needs a—we need an energy plan. I submitted a plan to the Congress when I first arrived here. Four years of debate is enough. We need a plan that encourages conservation, encourages environmentally sensitive exploration for oil and gas in our own hemisphere, in our own

country. We need a plan that encourages the use of renewables. We need a plan that makes wise use of coal and nuclear power. We need a plan that allows us to diversify away from hydrocarbons. We need a plan that is good for economic security and national security, a plan that makes us less reliable on foreign sources of energy.

I put that plan to the United States Congress. The House passed a good bill. Now it is time for the United States Senate to follow suit. And I expect them, for the sake of this country and for the sake of our economy, to get me a bill by the August recess, a bill that I can sign.

We're going to continue to work to free our businesses, small and large, from needless regulations and to protect honest job creators from the junk lawsuits. We're making progress. I signed a bill that passed both the House and the Senate, for class-action reform and bankruptcy reform. Now we need to pass asbestos litigation reform. And for the sake of good medical care, we need to stop these junk lawsuits that are running good docs out of practice and running up the price of your medical bills.

We've got a clear agenda to make health care more affordable and to give families greater access to coverage and more control over their health care decisions. We're going to move forward to improve information technology. We're going to continue to expand health savings accounts. Congress needs to pass association health care plans so small businesses are able to pool risk and buy insurance at the same discounts that big business is going to do. One thing we're not going to do is we're not going to allow the Federal Government to make the health care decisions for patients and doctors in America.

We'll continue to pass along to future generations time-honored values that sustain freedom and personal responsibility here at home. One of the most important initiatives I've laid out, and that we're now implementing, is our faith-based and community groups initiative. It's an initiative that understands that in parts of our country, people of faith and people of good will are able to heal broken hearts. The Federal Government should not fear faith-based institutions. We

ought to welcome the healing works of the faith community in America.

This party of ours will continue to promote a culture of life, and we will defend the institution of marriage from being redefined forever by activist judges.

And speaking about judges—[laughter]—in the last two elections, the American people made clear that they want judges who faithfully interpret the law, not legislate from the bench. I have a duty to nominate well-qualified men and women to the Federal judiciary. I have done just that, and I will continue to do so.

The Senate also has a duty to promptly consider each of these nominees on the Senate floor, discuss and debate their qualifications, and then give them the up-or-down vote they deserve. And speaking of confirmations, the Senate should also promptly confirm Mr. John Bolton, my nominee to be our Ambassador to the United Nations, so we can get on to the business of reforming that vital institution.

Over the next 4 years, we'll be relentless in tracking down the terrorists. We will confront them abroad so we don't have to face them here at home. And as we do so, I want you to understand, I understand that the best way to make America more secure is to spread freedom and democracy.

Freedom is on the march, because I believe etched in everybody's soul is the desire to be free. I don't care what your religion is. I don't care where you're from. Deep in your soul is the desire to be free. I believe every mother across the globe wants to raise her child in a peaceful and free society. I believe everybody wants to be able to express themselves freely and worship freely without fear of government.

People in the Palestinian Territories cast their ballot against violence and corruption. The people of Lebanon are rising up to demand freedom and independence. The people in Egypt are taking its first steps on the path to democratic reform. The people in the Ukraine have stood strongly for their rights. I was in Georgia recently, the site of the Rose Revolution, where people stood in the town square and said, "Let us be free." Freedom

is on the march, and the world will be more peaceful as a result of it.

We have a duty for future generations. We have a duty to leave this world more peaceful. We have a duty to reform the institutions that are old and tired. That's our duty.

You know, political parties can take one of two approaches to great problems. One approach is simply to do nothing, to deny that a problem exists or delay solutions or refuse to take responsibility. The political parties that choose this option will not gain the trust of the American people. The other approach is to lead, to focus on the people's business, and to take on the tough problems. And that's exactly what we're doing here in Washington, DC. We're focusing on the people's business, and we are taking on the tough problems. And that's why the American people have entrusted us with the leadership of this Nation at an historic time.

It's a great privilege to serve the American people, and it carries great responsibilities. You see, the actions that we take today will shape the course of events for the next half-century. We've set big goals, and they're not always easy to achieve. The truth of the matter is, if they're easy, somebody else would have already done it. [Laughter] But we're going to continue to be the party of idealism and reform. And we'll continue to lead, no matter how tough the challenge.

We'll trust the American people. We'll continue to give them a clear choice. And so long as we stay true to our values and our ideas, we will do what Americans have always done, and that is to build a better world for our children and our grandchildren.

Thanks for coming. God bless. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:56 p.m. at the Grand Hyatt Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Ken Mehlman, chairman, Republican National Committee; Mercer Reynolds, former Victory national finance chairman, Bush-Cheney '04 campaign; entertainers The Spinners and Ricky Skaggs; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. He also referred to the President's Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform.

**Remarks at a Swearing-In Ceremony
for John D. Negroponte as Director
of National Intelligence and Michael
V. Hayden as Deputy Director of
National Intelligence**

May 18, 2005

Good afternoon. Thank you for being here. I am honored and pleased to congratulate John Negroponte on becoming America's first Director of National Intelligence. I also congratulate General Mike Hayden on becoming on our Nation's first principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence.

I want to thank Secretary of State Condi Rice and Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld for joining us today. I appreciate Porter Goss, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, for joining us, Robert Mueller, Director of the FBI.

I appreciate Senator Ted Stevens, Senate President pro tem, joining us today, along with Senator Jay Rockefeller. Thank you both for being here. I want to thank Congressman Peter Hoekstra, chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, along with Congresswoman Jane Harman, ranking member. Thank you both for coming.

I appreciate Chuck Robb, Co-Chairman of the WMD Commission, for joining us today. I want to thank members of the intelligence community who have joined us. I thank the rest of you for coming too. [*Laughter*]

Ambassador Negroponte's position is one of the newest in the Government and one of the most demanding. Our Nation is at war, and John is making sure that those whose duty it is to defend America have the information we need to make the right decisions. He's ensuring that our intelligence agencies work as a single, unified enterprise. And he's serving as my principal intelligence adviser. These are vital and urgent responsibilities, and John has what it takes to fulfill them all.

In his distinguished career, John has represented America in eight nations on three continents. He's served every President since Dwight Eisenhower. Over the past 4 years, I've come to know John's wisdom, intellect, and integrity. I've relied on his candid judgment to help solve complicated problems. I have witnessed his unique ability to bring

people together, most recently in his historic achievements as Ambassador to a free Iraq. I'm grateful to John for answering his Nation's call. I thank his family for joining us today.

John is fortunate to count on an experienced and capable deputy in General Mike Hayden. General Hayden understands the intelligence community from the ground up. He has a long record of wise and effective reform. Mike also has a clear understanding of our enemies in the war on terror. He'll be a superb deputy to Ambassador Negroponte. I thank Mike for his willingness to serve, and I'm glad to see his family as well.

As John Negroponte and Mike Hayden carry out their new duties, they're relying on the thousands of dedicated professionals working in our intelligence community. These men and women serve America with a wide variety of talents and expertise. They all report to work everyday with the same goal, to protect our fellow citizens from harm. Intelligence officers work in secret and often at great risk to their lives. Their vigilance and bravery are vital to America's security. And on behalf of all Americans, I thank them and their families for their service in the cause of freedom.

As Director of National Intelligence, John is taking action to help all who serve in the intelligence community to do their jobs more effectively. He has assembled a strong leadership team that reflects a wide range of skills and intelligence experience. He's visited a number of intelligence agencies. He's listened to experts in a variety of fields, and he's made reforms in the daily intelligence briefing. John recognizes and values the contributions of all who collect and analyze intelligence. He will ensure that they have access to the tools and information their missions demand.

In the days ahead, Ambassador Negroponte and General Hayden will continue the structural reforms of our intelligence community that began after September the 11th, 2001. We've now implemented the vast majority of the 9/11 Commission's recommendations through Executive orders and the intelligence reform bill I signed last December.

My administration is also reviewing all the recommendations made by the Silberman-Robb Commission on weapons of mass destruction. We have already begun to implement a number of their recommendations. We will continue to evaluate and act on the Commission's useful blueprint to improve the quality and quantity of intelligence we collect and to be able to analyze that information more thoroughly.

John Negroponte will also ensure the sharing of information among agencies and establish common standards for the intelligence community's personnel. I have confidence in John Negroponte and Mike Hayden to carry out these vital missions. Well-integrated, effective intelligence efforts are America's first line of defense against the threats of the 21st century.

I thank the Congress for creating the Director of National Intelligence position and for swiftly confirming two talented, dedicated Americans to lead our intelligence community. I look forward to working with this team to improve our intelligence capabilities and to use those capabilities to win the war on terror.

Congratulations to both men. May God bless you and your families, and may God continue to bless our country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:18 p.m. in the Courtyard at the New Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction (Silberman-Robb Commission); and the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Commission). The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Director Negroponte.

Remarks at the International Republican Institute Dinner

May 18, 2005

Thank you all. Thank you. Thanks. Please be seated. Thank you for the warm welcome. I thank John for that introduction. John McCain is a man of honor and integrity and personal courage. He's an outstanding chairman for the International Republican Institute. He campaigned with me, for which I

was grateful, and one time he said, "Do you believe in free speech?" I said, "I do." He said, "Why don't you get over to the IRI and give one, then?" [*Laughter*]

It was an honor to meet your mother, John—Roberta. There she is. Mrs. McCain, it's good to see you. If you're anything like my mother, I'm sure you're telling John what to do. [*Laughter*] If he's anything like me, he's listening to you about half the time. [*Laughter*] But thank you very much, John.

I appreciate your president, Lorne Craner. He did a fantastic job in our administration as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy and Human Rights and Labor, and he continues to do good work.

I regret Laura is not with us tonight. You probably think she's working on some of her one-liners. [*Laughter*] She's actually packing her bags because she's off for Jordan and Israel and Egypt to continue to deliver the freedom message, and I can't think of a better messenger.

I want to thank Peter Madigan and John Thain. I want to thank the Members of the Congress who are here tonight. I particularly want to say hello and thanks to my close friend Ambassador Jerry Bremer for his fantastic work in Iraq. Thank you, Jerry, for your good job.

I'm pleased to know that Paul Wolfowitz is with us tonight, President-elect of the World Bank. I'm going to miss him as a part of my administration. But I want to tell you something: The world will be better off with Paul Wolfowitz as the head of the World Bank.

I want to thank the members of the diplomatic corps.

And I want to thank you for this fine award. I understand a little later on you're going to give an award to a true champion of freedom, and that is Pope John Paul II. Everywhere he went, Pope John Paul preached the call of freedom is for every member of the human family, because the Author of Life wrote it into our common human nature. And in the end, even the Berlin Wall could not withstand the force of this humble Polish priest who became the Bishop of Rome and a true hero for the ages. Thank you for honoring this good man.

I'm here to thank you for supporting the IRI. And I appreciate the work IRI is doing to advance the cause of liberty. For more than two decades, IRI has been at the forefront of democratic change in more than a hundred countries. You've trained the next generation of leaders. You've strengthened political parties. You've monitored elections, and you're helping to build civil societies. You've made an enormous difference in the lives of millions across the world. I hope that makes you feel good. The world is safer and freer and more peaceful because of the International Republican Institute. Thank you for your good work.

These are incredibly exciting times. They must be exciting times for you, and they're exciting times for me. They should be exciting times for everybody because freedom is making unprecedented progress across the globe. In the last 18 months, we have witnessed revolutions of Rose, Orange, Purple, Tulip, and Cedar. And these are just the beginnings. Across the Caucasus and central Asia, hope is stirring at the prospect of change, and change will come. Across the broader Middle East, we are seeing the rise of a new generation whose hearts burn for freedom, and they will have it.

This is a period of great idealism, when dreams of liberty are coming true for millions. Yet, to achieve idealistic goals, we need realistic policies to help nations secure their freedom and practical strategies to help young democracies consolidate their gains.

To help young democracies succeed, we need to recognize that freedom movements can create a vacuum. Democratic change and free elections are exhilarating events. Yet we know from experience they can be followed by moments of uncertainty. When people risk everything to vote, it can raise expectations that their lives will improve immediately, but history teaches us that the path to a free society is long and not always smooth.

During my visit to Europe, I stopped in a country that is now in the early stages of its transition from free elections to a free society, and that's the nation of Georgia. It was a fantastic honor to represent our country in front of thousands of people and to stand side by side with a true lover of freedom,

President Saakashvili. It was an unbelievable experience to stand in Freedom Square to celebrate the peaceful revolution that took place 18 months ago. Yet, it has taken nearly 15 years of struggle for the citizens of this young democracy to establish freedom and justice in their country. But I've seen the resolve of Georgia's leaders and the spirit of the Georgian people. And I can assure you, they have the will to succeed, and the United States of America will help them.

Almost every new democracy has gone through a period of challenge and confusion. In Slovakia, the Velvet Revolution was followed by a period of neoauthoritarian rule before freedom firmly took hold. In Romania, the communist regime was toppled in 1989, and today, the post-communist leadership is still dealing with the legacy of corruption they inherited as they work to build a vibrant democracy. In Ukraine, citizens waited 13 years after independence for the Orange Revolution that solidified the democratic gains. All these countries still have much more work to do, but their people are courageous, and their leaders are determined. And with our help, they will prevail.

And as we push the freedom agenda, we must remember the history of our own country. The American Revolution was followed by years of chaos. In 1783, Congress was chased from Philadelphia by angry veterans demanding backpay, and the Congress stayed on the run for 6 months. Our first effort at a governing charter, the Articles of Confederation, failed miserably. It took several years before we finally adopted our Constitution and inaugurated our first President. It took a 4-year civil war and a century of struggle after that before the promise of our Declaration was extended to all Americans.

No nation in history has made the transition from tyranny to a free society without setbacks and false starts. What separates those nations that succeed from those that falter is their progress in establishing free institutions. So to help young democracies succeed, we must help them build free institutions to fill the vacuum created by change. Democracy takes different forms in different cultures. Yet we know that in all cultures, successful democracies are built on certain

common foundations, and they include the following rights:

First, all successful democracies need freedom of speech, with a vibrant free press that informs the public, ensures transparency, and prevents authoritarian backsliding.

Second, all successful democracies need freedom of assembly, so citizens can gather and organize in free associations to press for reform and so that a peaceful, loyal opposition can provide citizens with real choices.

Third, all successful democracies need a free economy to unleash the creativity of its citizens and create prosperity and opportunity and economic independence from the state.

Fourth, all democracies need an independent judiciary to guarantee rule of law and assure impartial justice for all citizens.

And fifth, all democracies need freedom of worship, because respect for the beliefs of others is the only way to build a society where compassion and tolerance prevail.

These are the foundations that sustain human freedom. Societies that lay these foundations not only survive but thrive. Societies that fail to do so often find they have built their future on sand instead of rock and risk sliding back into tyranny. So we have a great responsibility. We must help these young democracies build the free institutions that will protect their liberty and extend it to future generations.

To help young democracies succeed and build these institutions of liberty, we must enlist the help of many individuals and institutions: nongovernmental organizations have a role to play; the United States Government has a role to play; and the world's free nations all have important roles to play.

To build free institutions, we're counting on groups like IRI. As more and more people rise up to demand their freedom, the world is seeing a proliferation of democratic transitions. For IRI and others in the business of promoting democratic change, this is good news. It means you are in a growth industry. We need you to continue your vital work to help ensure free and fair elections across the world. At the same time, we also need you to focus your skills and experience on what comes after the elections are over, and the

media has left, and the world's attention has turned elsewhere.

As new democracies emerge, we need you to help civic associations in those countries transform from regime opponents to issue advocates, so they can press legitimate governments for essential reforms. We need you to help the democratic reformers you have trained make the transition from dissidents to elected legislators by teaching them how to build coalitions and set legislative agendas and master unfamiliar skills like constituent service. We need you to help businesses in new market economies organize trade associations and chambers of commerce, so they can promote progrowth economic policies. And we need you to teach newly elected governments the importance of building public support for their policies and programs as well as how to effectively deal with a free news media. By helping people build these institutions and develop the habits of liberty, you are helping them transform new democracies into lasting free societies.

To build free institutions, the United States Government has responsibilities. To help meet this goal, since taking office my administration has provided more than \$4.6 billion for programs to support democratic change around the world, and we have requested over 1.3 billion for these efforts in our 2006 budget. Our 2006 budget also requests \$80 million for the National Endowment of Democracy, more than double NED's budget when I took office. The reason I bring this up is I want you to understand that we have funding, but we will focus that funding to help new democracies after the elections are over.

We must also improve the responsiveness of our Government to help nations emerging from tyranny and war. Democratic change can arrive suddenly, and that means our Government must be able to move quickly to provide needed assistance. So last summer, my administration established a new Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization in the State Department, led by Ambassador Carlos Pascual. This new office is charged with coordinating our Government's civilian efforts to meet an essential mission, helping the

world's newest democracies make the transition to peace and freedom and a market economy.

You know, one of the lessons we learned from our experience in Iraq is that while military personnel can be rapidly deployed anywhere in the world, the same is not true of U.S. Government civilians. Many fine civilian workers from almost every department of our Government volunteered to serve in Iraq. When they got there, they did an amazing job under extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances, and America appreciates their service and sacrifice.

But the process of recruiting and staffing the Coalition Provisional Authority was lengthy, and it was difficult. That's why one of the first projects of the new Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization is to create a new Active Response Corps made up of foreign and civil service officers who can deploy quickly to crisis situations as civilian first-responders. This new Corps will be on call, ready to get programs running on the ground in days and weeks instead of months and years. The 2006 budget requests \$24 million for this office and \$100 million for a new Conflict Response Fund. If a crisis emerges and assistance is needed, the United States of America will be ready.

This office will also work to expand our use of civilian volunteers from outside our Government who have the right skills and are willing to serve in these missions. After the liberation of Iraq and Afghanistan, Americans from all walks of life stepped forward to help these newly liberated nations recover.

Last summer, a Lancaster, Ohio, police officer named Brian Fisher volunteered to spend a year in Baghdad training Iraqi police. Brian says, "The Iraqi people have been under a dictatorship, and now they are moving toward democracy, and I want to do something to help." What a fantastic spirit that Brian showed, but he's not alone. Last May, a Notre Dame Law School professor named Jimmy Gurule helped train 39 Iraqi judges, some of whom will conduct the trials of Saddam Hussein and other senior members of his regime. Because of efforts of people like him and Brian, these trials will be fair and transparent.

These are ordinary Americans who are making unbelievable contributions to freedom's cause. And the spirit of the citizenship of this country is remarkable, and we're going to put that spirit to work to advance the cause of liberty and to build a safer world.

We're improving the capacity of our military to assist nations that are making democratic transitions. In Iraq and Afghanistan, our men and women in uniform are serving with unbelievable courage and distinction, and they make this country incredibly proud. The main purpose of our military is to win the war on terror, is to find and defeat the terrorists overseas so we do not face them here at home. A major goal of our military is to train Iraqi and Afghan security forces so these nations can defend their people and fight the terrorists themselves. But at the same time, America's Armed Forces are also undertaking a less visible but increasingly important task, helping these people of these nations build civil societies from the rubble of oppression.

In Afghanistan, U.S. and coalition forces are deploying Provincial Reconstruction Teams in remote regions of that country. These teams are helping the Afghan Government to fix schools, dig wells, build roads, repair hospitals, and build confidence in the Afghan Government's ability to deliver real change in people's lives. In Iraq, soldiers of the 1st Cavalry Division launched "Operation Adam Smith," provided Iraqi entrepreneurs with small-business loans, taught them the important skills to run a business, like accounting and marketing and writing business plans.

To give our military more resources for this vital work, we are rebalancing our forces, moving people out of skills that are in low demand, such as heavy artillery, and adding more military police and civil affairs specialists that are needed in these types of situations. By transforming our military, we will make our Armed Forces faster, more agile, and more lethal, and we will make them more effective in helping societies transition from war and despotism to freedom and democracy.

To build free institutions, all free nations have responsibilities. We know that democracies do not foment terror or invade their

neighbors. Democratic societies are peaceful societies, which is why, for the sake of peace, the world's established democracies must help the world's newest democracies succeed.

The United States will continue to call upon our friends and allies across the world to help in this noble cause. And today, many nations are stepping forward with practical help. And some of the most active countries are those who have had recent experience with tyrants themselves. Hungary has established an International Center for Democratic Transition to share its experiences with emerging democracies. Lithuania is now preparing to deploy a Provincial Reconstruction Team in western Afghanistan. Slovakia is bringing Iraqi political leaders to their country to show them firsthand how a nation moves from dictatorship to democracy. With the help of IRI, Poland and Lithuania and Latvia are working with civil society leaders in Belarus to bring freedom to Europe's last dictatorship.

Bahrain and Jordan, the Czech Republic, and Britain and Italy are hosting hundreds of Iraqi judges so they can study modern legal techniques that will help Iraq establish the rule of law. Many nations are contributing troops for stability operations. In Afghanistan, 40 countries have forces on the ground, and NATO has taken charge of the International Security Assistance Force in Kabul. In Iraq, 30 nations have forces deployed, and NATO is helping to train army officers and police and civilian administrators of a new Iraq.

This is incredibly important work. And I will remind the leaders of free countries how important this work is.

And it's not easy work. It's tough work. As we're seeing in the Middle East, freedom often has deadly enemies, men who celebrate murder, incite suicide, and thirst for absolute power. By working together to aid democratic transitions, we will isolate and defeat the forces of terror and ensure a peaceful world for generations to come.

Today, much of our focus is on the broader Middle East, because I understand that 60 years of Western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in that region did nothing to make us safe. If the Mid-

dle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation and resentment and violence ready for export. The United States has adopted a new policy, a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East, a strategy that recognizes the best way to defeat the ideology that uses terror as a weapon is to spread freedom and democracy. And we're beginning to see the effects of this new approach.

Iraq and Afghanistan have held free elections and are now building free societies. In Afghanistan, they have for the first time a democratically elected President, and they are now seeing the rebirth of civil society in a place that until recently had only known the terror of the Taliban. Iraqis now have an elected Transitional National Assembly, a new Prime Minister, and they are on their way to writing a new constitution for a free Iraq. In this vital work, Iraqis and Afghans have the support of the American people and, thankfully, the support of the International Republican Institute.

The Palestinian people have gone to the polls and have chosen a leader committed to negotiation instead of violence. And now we must help them build free institutions that will be a foundation for lasting peace. I've asked Jim Wolfensohn to help President Abbas build a modern economy and lasting political institutions. If we want to have two states living side by side in peace, the world must insist that the Palestinians develop the institutions necessary for a free, democratic society to grow and emerge.

Egypt will hold its first multiparty Presidential election this fall. The success of this important step can be advanced by the presence of international monitors and by rules that allow for a real campaign.

In Lebanon, the citizens of that nation rose up to demand their independence and will vote in elections that are set to start at the end of this month. Those elections must go forward with no outside influence. And when the Lebanese people have chosen their leaders, the world's free nations will be there to help them build a lasting democracy.

In these countries and across the world, those who claim their liberty will have an unwavering ally in the United States. This administration will stand with the democratic

reformers, no matter how hard it gets. We have a responsibility to build a more peaceful world. And we know that by extending liberty to millions who have not known it, we will advance the cause of freedom and the cause of peace. And we're confident—we are confident in the future because we know that the future belongs to freedom.

And we know the tree of liberty begins as a sapling, vulnerable to violent winds and gathering storms. Yet if nurtured and protected, it will grow into a mighty oak that can withstand any storm, and when it does, the very winds that once threatened it will carry its seeds across borders and barriers to take root in still other lands.

We will encourage freedom's advance. We will nurture its progress, and we will help the nations that choose it to navigate the pitfalls that follow. This is the challenge of a new century. It is the calling of our time. And America will do its duty.

May God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:09 p.m. at the Renaissance Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Senator John McCain, chairman, Lorne Craner, president, and Peter T. Madigan, vice-chairman, International Republican Institute; John A. Thain, chief executive officer, New York Stock Exchange; L. Paul Bremer III, former Presidential Envoy to Iraq; President Mikheil Saakashvili of Georgia; President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan; Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jafari of the Iraqi Transitional Government; President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) of the Palestinian Authority; and outgoing World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement.

Remarks in a Discussion on Strengthening Social Security in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May 19, 2005

The President. Thank you all very much. Pleased be seated. Thanks for coming. Thanks for the warm welcome. Dennis, thank you very much. I'm so honored that the MMAC would host this reception—or this conversation. Thanks for coming. And I appreciate Tim Sheehy as well, the president. I thank the members who are here for allowing me to come by and have a conversation with some of your fellow citizens about an

incredibly important topic, and that is the Social Security system.

But before I get there, I've got some other things I want to say, if you don't mind. [Laughter] First, I'm sorry Laura is not traveling with me today. She is—you probably think she's home preparing a few one-liners. [Laughter] She's not; she's home packing her bags. She is off to Jordan and Egypt and Israel to represent our country. I can't think of a better representative than Laura Bush. She's going to help advance the freedom agenda, which is really the peace agenda. The more freedom there is in the world, the more this world will be a peaceful world.

It's been an incredible time. It's been an amazing time, hasn't it, to watch and to see these people around the world demanding their freedom. And it's such an honor to be a part of helping people realize the great potential of a free society. It was an amazing moment to stand in Georgia—Tbilisi, Georgia, in front of over 150,000 people that were so thrilled to see a representative of the United States, and they were thrilled to see us there because we stand for freedom and human dignity and the belief that everybody counts and that you ought to be able to worship freely. I hope you take great pride in what America stands for and know that, as we spread not American values but God-given values around the world, this world is a better place.

I want to thank Congressman Paul Ryan. He's one of the bright lights in the United States Congress, a very sharp guy. He jumped on Air Force One—easy ride home, right, Ryan? [Laughter] Are you going back? Oh, he is going back. Good. But we spent a lot of time talking about this issue. He's a smart guy and cares a lot about the Social Security issue. I really appreciate you taking time out to come and hear this discussion.

I want to thank Andrew Ziegler, the president of the Milwaukee Art Museum, and David Gordon for letting us come by. What a fantastic building. I mean, it's really—I know you're incredibly proud of this fantastic facility, and I know the citizens of Milwaukee support it strongly, as you should. So thanks for letting us come by and use this facility. It's a—look at it this way, it's a chance to

show it off for the world, to the extent the world is watching C-SPAN.

I had an amazing experience. I stopped by a business here called OnMilwaukee.com—[applause]—a little bit of a following. Things are catching on. I rode over here with Jeff Sherman and Andy Tarnoff, two young guys, Milwaukee citizens who started this company, entrepreneurs who took risk and have put out a product people obviously want. It's a fast-growing little business. I met our participants over there to talk about what we're going to do here, but also, I love to see entrepreneurs. You know, part of the role of Government is to create an environment in which people are willing to take risk and—which means low taxes, reasonable regulation. We've got to get rid of all these junk lawsuits that are threatening small businesses, the job creators. But I want to thank Andy and Jeff and their employees or associates for welcoming me there. And it was—thanks for putting me on the front page of today's addition. [Laughter]

I also want to welcome Jack Voight, the State treasurer, and the State Senate majority leader, Dale Schultz. Hey, Dale. Tell your wife hello. We traveled on a bus together.

Let me start off on Social Security by saying this: Franklin Roosevelt did a smart thing in setting up a safety net for people who, when they retired, would know they would be able to more likely live in dignity upon retirement. He did a smart thing. And it worked. Social Security worked for a long time. As a matter of fact, I fully understand that right here in the State of Wisconsin, a lot of people are counting on the Social Security check. In other words, Social Security is really important for a lot of people's lives. In my home State of Texas, a lot of people rely solely on their Social Security check.

And as we discuss Social Security, it's important for the people of Milwaukee to understand and Wisconsin to understand that this discussion we're having really is not about you, but it's about your children and your grandchildren, because I can look in the camera and say with absolute certainty, "If you're on Social Security today, nothing will change. You will get your check." The system is solvent enough—the system is solvent for people born before 1950.

The reason I have to say that is because many of you are aware of what takes place in politics. People say the darndest things to try to change people's opinions. They might say, "If old so-and-so gets elected, you're not going to get your Social Security check." In other words, people have been using Social Security to scare seniors to vote one way or the other for a long period of time. And so, therefore, when I'm talking about the reform, I want you to recognize, one, Social Security is important, and two, if you're a senior, you have nothing to worry about. You will get your check.

But if you've got a grandchild, you've got plenty to worry about if you care about your children and your grandchildren. And here's why—here's why. There's a lot of us getting ready to retire. We're called baby boomers. I'm one. As a matter of fact, my retirement age is in 2008. [Laughter] I turn 62 in 2008; it's kind of convenient. [Laughter] And there's a lot of us. As a matter of fact, by the time the baby boomers fully retire, there's going to be over 70 million of us. That's compared to 40-some odd million today. So the number of retirees that the system will have to take care of is increasing dramatically, and we're living longer.

A lot of baby boomers have been working out and taking care of our bodies, making good choices, and medicine is better, and we're living longer. It's just a fact. We're living longer than the previous generation, and we've been promised greater benefits. People were running for office saying, "Vote for me. I'm going to give you more benefits when it comes to Social Security." And sure enough, they got elected, and they kept their promise. And so you've got a lot of people getting ready to retire who are living longer who are getting greater benefits, and fewer people paying into the system.

In 1950, there was, like, 15 workers to one beneficiary. In other words, you had a lot of workers relative to the number of beneficiaries. Today, there's 3.3 workers per beneficiary. Relatively quickly, it will be two workers per beneficiary—fewer people paying greater benefits to a greater number of people who are living longer.

Now, secondly, Social Security is not a savings account. In my travels around the country, I hear people say, “Why don’t you just give us the money back we put in?” But that’s not the way Social Security works. It’s a pay-as-you-go system. You pay; we go ahead and spend. [*Laughter*] You pay through payroll taxes. We spend on paying for the beneficiaries, the retirees for that year. But if we’ve got any money left over, we didn’t save it for you. We spent it on Government. That’s the way it works. It’s a pay-as-you-go. And then there’s—all that’s left over is a file cabinet full of IOUs. I have seen the file cabinet in West Virginia firsthand, and I saw all the IOUs. But the system is not the kind of system where we’re holding the money for you. That’s not the way it works. We’re spending your money and left behind some paper that can only be good if the Government decides to redeem the paper. That’s a pay-as-you-go system.

The pay-as-you-go system starts to go in the red, because it’s going to pay out more in benefits than it collects in taxes, in 2017. That’s 12 years from now. If you’ve got a 6-year-old child, that will be about the time your child starts to drive, if the driving age is 18 here in Wisconsin. In 2027—and by the way, the situation gets worse every year, fewer people paying in for more beneficiaries. In 2017, the system will be \$200 billion for that year in the red. I don’t know where they’re going to get the money. Every year it gets worse. In 2032, it’s like \$300 billion in the red. In 2041, it’s bust.

Now, if you’re a senior, you have nothing to worry about because it’s got plenty of money for you. But if you’re a young worker, a young entrepreneur, a young mom paying into the system, you’re paying into a bankrupt system unless the United States Congress decides to act.

Now, I see a problem. I fully recognize that some in Washington don’t see a problem. They’d rather kind of sweep this issue under the rug. But that’s not the job of the President. The job of the President is to confront problems and not pass those problems on to another President or another Congress or another generation. And I realize if we don’t act, it’s going to cost \$600 billion a year because of inaction. And I realize if we don’t

act, we’re liable to saddle a younger generation of Americans with an 18-percent payroll tax to make good for the promises that you’ve made for me. And that’s not fair, and that’s not right.

And so I went in front of the Congress and said, “We got a problem.” I said it at the State of the Union. I also told the leadership that I plan on campaigning on this issue, in other words traveling the country doing exactly what we’re doing here, making it perfectly clear to the American people we have a problem. Guess what. They now know we got a problem. And that’s bad news for people in Washington, DC, who would rather do nothing, because once the people figure out we got a problem, the next question they’re going to say to Members of the United States Congress is, “What do you intend to do about it?”

Now, I have an obligation to do more than just say we got a problem. I’ve got an obligation to say, “Here’s some ideas that we got to work on.” First, anything we do, we got to make sure that future generations receive benefits equal to or greater than benefits enjoyed by today’s seniors. I think that’s a reasonable principle.

Secondly, I believe that—I know we can solve a lot of the issue by embracing what’s called progressive indexing of benefits. It’s a long word, fancy words for this. Here’s what happens: The promises Congress has made says that your benefits will raise—rise based upon wage increases. If you were to say to the upper income folks, “Your benefits will raise—rise based upon inflation,” you’ve gone a long way to solving the solvency problem. It sounds simple, but it basically means that poor people won’t have to retire into poverty, and the wealthier people in America will get benefits that increase with the rate of inflation—for people born prior to 1950—I mean, after 1950.

That progressive indexing plan does a couple of things. One, I think it is an important principle to say to somebody who has been working all their life in a hard job that you’re not going to retire into poverty. America can make that promise, and it’s a promise we ought to make for people. It makes sense. We want our people retiring with dignity.

That's one way to make the Social Security system better.

But it also makes sense to say to somebody who doesn't think they're going to see any benefits anyway, "You're going to get benefits. They're just not going to grow quite as fast. They'll grow. They're going to be bigger—equal to or bigger than their previous generation. They're just not going to be quite as big as the Government promised you—that politicians promised you. They'll be bigger, but for the sake of solvency and permanency, if we don't do this, you're going to be saddled with a \$200-billion-a-year bill in 2027." In other words, there's a reasonable approach that I'm confident that Congress, if it takes a look at, will see it is reasonable.

Now, we've got to come together and solve other problems to make sure we permanently solve the issue. I keep saying "permanently" because I remember in 1983 when President Reagan and Speaker O'Neill, in the spirit of bipartisanship, said, "We got a problem with Social Security," and they came together and said, "We're going to put out a 75-year fix." The problem is, we're now 22 years later, and that 75-year fix didn't stick. In other words, if we're going to sit down at the table, let's get it done forever. Let's say to a younger generation of Americans, we're going to permanently solve the Social Security issue so you can grow up with peace of mind.

I'm almost through. I think as we permanently fix the system, there's an opportunity—I know there's an opportunity to make the system a better deal for younger workers. And so I've asked Congress to consider this idea: Younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their own payroll taxes, if they so choose, and set up a personal savings account. Some of the taxes will be in a—that they pay; after all, it's their money that they're paying—they ought to be allowed to take some of their money and set up a personal savings account.

Here are the benefits for doing that. One, the Government does a lousy job on getting a good rate of return on your money. As a matter of fact, people calculate that in the Social Security system you earn about 1.8 percent on your money. That's not a very good deal. You see, if you have a personal savings account, you could do a lot better

than 1.8 percent. A conservative mix of bonds and stocks, you can get up to 7 or 8 percent. Four percent—if you're only in T-bills, you do better than 1.8 percent. And it's that difference in interest that, over time, compounds that means a lot.

In other words, if you start setting aside money, with a decent rate of return, it grows over time; it compounds. And it's that power of compound interest which younger workers ought to be allowed to take advantage of. But the system today doesn't let them take advantage of that.

So let me give you an example. If you're a 20-year-old mom earning \$8 an hour over the career and you're allowed to take a third of your payroll taxes and put it in a conservative mix of bonds and stocks, by the time that person retires, she would have a \$100,000 nest egg. See, that's the power of compound interest.

Here's another interesting example for you. Say you've got a child and that child decides to become a police force [policeman] *, marries a nurse. They're in the workplace in 2011, and they work their entire careers. They set aside money based upon the average salary of a policeman and nurse. By the time they retired at 65, they would have a \$669,000 nest egg.

That's what money does when it grows. That's what happens, and people ought to be allowed to take advantage of that, if they choose. The Government is not saying, "You have to set up a personal retirement." I fully understand some people might not feel comfortable about putting their money in bonds and stocks. I know that. That's why this is a personal savings account, a voluntary personal account. Government is not saying, "You must do this." They're saying, "If you so choose, you should be allowed to make that decision."

And a lot of people are going to make that decision. You know why? The world has changed when it comes to investors. We're about to talk to some young investors. I can assure you, when I was their age, I wasn't spending much time thinking about 401(k)s. They didn't exist. There wasn't a lot of talk about people running—you know, "How's

* White House correction.

your IRA doing?" They didn't exist. The whole notion of people being—entrusting people with their money and watching it grow is changing. The culture is changing. The investor class is no longer confined to just a few people. The investor class is varied, and we ought to have policies in place that encourage every American to become an owner and investor and watch their assets grow.

Laura said, "Don't get too long-winded," but it's not working. *[Laughter]* A couple of other points I want to make. The system is inherently unfair to some. If you and your spouse are working and both of you contributing in the Social Security system and one of you die early, when you turn 62, you get a choice to make. You can either take the benefits accrued in the Social Security system to you or to your husband but not both.

Think about that. Somebody has worked all their life, contributed to the system, dies early, and the money just disappears. That doesn't seem fair to me. That doesn't seem fair to me that fellow Americans working all his or her life, contributing in the system, and then dies early, and the surviving spouse gets a burial benefit and, at 62, gets the greater of the benefit structure but not both. It's not fair. If you allow a younger worker to set aside money and watch that asset base grow, you're really saying, "If something bad happens to you, you can pass that asset on to your surviving spouse." I like the idea of having—giving the capacity to a lot of people to be able to transfer assets from one generation to the next. That's what America is about.

Before we get to our panel, a couple of other points. One, you can't take your money and put it in the lottery. In other words, this isn't one of these deals where it's a—you can take it and put it in high-flyers. This is a retirement fund. This is a safety net. Therefore, there's going to be a conservative mix of bonds and stocks available for you to choose from. You can mix it up between bonds and stocks and T-bills any way you want, but you cannot take your money to the track. In other words, it's a safety net. There will be guidelines.

Secondly, there will be fee structures that are reasonable. Wall Street can't rip you off

in this deal. I'm sure you've heard people say, "Oh, Bush's plan, it's going to give Wall Street a windfall." Wait a minute. There are all kinds of public retirement funds that exist around the country where the fee structures are reasonable managed. You'll be treated fairly.

Speaking about that, all kinds of retirement systems around, I don't know if you know this or not, but the United States Congress took a look at this idea in what's called the Thrift Savings Plan. That's the Federal savings plan. And they thought about maybe giving somebody the option of putting their money in a conservative mix of bonds and stocks because they—the people who vote on that must have recognized the power of compound interest. And guess what happened. They adopted a plan that says Members of the United States Congress, if they so choose, can take some of their own money and set it aside in a conservative portfolio of bonds and stocks. Here's my attitude about that—and it should be the attitude of the American people—if setting aside money so it can grow better in a conservative mix of bonds and stocks is okay for United States Senators, it ought to be okay for workers all across America.

Ready to go? I think we're going to get something done. I really do. I think the American people understand we've got a problem. I think seniors are now beginning to understand all the scare tactics, all the propaganda, is just that. And they're going to get their checks. And finally, the final part of this equation is, there's a lot of young Americans who are beginning to pay attention to this issue and say, "Wait a minute. I'm not contributing hard-earned money into a system that's going broke, and I don't like what I hear, and I expect members of both political parties to set aside their parties and focus on the good of the United States of America."

I want to thank you all for coming. First, we're going to start off with Jeff Brown. Jeff is what we call an expert—right?

Jeffrey R. Brown. I'll take that description.

The President. That's right. Tell us what you do. This isn't the first time we've been together, by the way. He's a fine lad.

Dr. Brown. Thank you, Mr. President. I'm a professor—I don't know if I should admit it here, but I'm at the University of Illinois. And—[*laughter*].

The President. He's sensitive. [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, Dr. Brown, assistant professor, Department of Finance, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, made further remarks.*]

The President. Are students paying attention to the issue?

Dr. Brown. They certainly are after they get done with my classes. [*Laughter*]

The President. Thanks, Jeff. Thanks for coming.

I like to remind people, he's a Ph.D., and I was a C student. [*Laughter*] I want you to take note of who's the President and who's the adviser. [*Laughter*]

Right, Bobby? Bobby Kraft. Welcome, Bobby.

Robert Kraft. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. What do you do?

Mr. Kraft. I'm president and CEO of a printing and a mailing services company here in Milwaukee, First Edge Solutions.

The President. Started it?

Mr. Kraft. Yes, 2 years ago.

The President. Congratulations. Entrepreneurial spirit is strong.

Mr. Kraft. Thank you. I learned that from my chairman over there, my dad. He—his company opened first; there are 450 employees.

The President. Great, fantastic. You and your dad have got the same hairstyle, I notice. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Kraft. Absolutely.

The President. Yes. Sorry, Bobby.

Mr. Kraft. It's been tough. It's been real tough.

The President. Yes, yes. [*Laughter*] Anyway, how many employees you got?

Mr. Kraft. We have 20 full-time employees.

The President. Good. Add any last year?

Mr. Kraft. Yes, we did.

The President. Do you realize—it's a little off the subject, but 70 percent of new jobs in America are created by small-business entrepreneurs. And I want to thank you, Bobby, for being a small-business entrepreneur.

Mr. Kraft. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. I asked the same question to—OnMilwaukee.com. They added some employees last year too. It's a good sign, young entrepreneurs taking risks, building businesses, and employing people.

Now, Bobby, tell me—you're here on Social Security.

Mr. Kraft. Correct.

The President. Why? Besides the fact you got invited, and you wanted to see the art museum. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Kraft. Before I got into printing, I did have a short stint as an investment adviser. And the first thing I learned getting into the industry and studying all the financial books is that don't count on Social Security to be there. We take that same level of education, and we teach our employees that they need to take advantage of the 401(k) we put in place for them because of the fact, the way the Social Security system is set up, we cannot count on that to be here.

The President. Yes, let me stop you. Young guy sitting here in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in front of the President, "Don't count on Social Security to be there." A lot of people feeling that way here in America. What I'm telling you is, if we can get the United States Congress to listen to you, we can put a plan in place to make sure Social Security is there.

Keep going, Bobby.

Mr. Kraft. Keep going?

The President. It's got to be a little depressing to be paying small-business rates, small-business payroll taxes into a system where you say, "It's not going to be there." That's not good Government—ask people to work hard, pay a payroll tax, and have people think—a lot of people think it's not going to be around. That's the problem. That's the issue. If you're a senior, you're going to get your check. Bobby is a little worried about his.

Keep going.

[*Mr. Kraft made further remarks.*]

The President. I appreciate that. So Bobby just said he's setting up a plan that says to his workers, you can watch your money grow. In other words, we want you

to have a retirement system called a 401(k). Appreciate you setting it up.

But part of what we're talking about is an educational process. I understand that. You know, Bobby said some people going around the water cooler aren't so sure they want to take risks with the money. It's managed risk. It's certainly not an overwhelming risk. And my attitude about that is, if you're nervous about it, stay in the system. Stay in the system as is. If not, you'll get some Social Security benefits, but you're also going to get the benefit of owning your own money and watching it grow. And then when you retire, you'll have a nest egg—by the way, a nest egg that doesn't end up in a file cabinet in West Virginia, a nest egg you call your own that the United States Government cannot take away from you.

Keep going, Bobby.

Mr. Kraft. Okay, thank you. You know, really the disheartening thing for us as employers is talking to our employees who are working paycheck to paycheck at times and telling them that the percentage of tax that's being yanked from their check every time is going really to nowhere, and they're not able to grow it at all. And that's not fun to tell one of your employees that, that you can't count on that. Because we prefer to work on an optimistic basis, growing a company, being entrepreneurial, you take risks and you understand how to mitigate them. But at the same time, when you know that part of your employees' checks are going to be just going really to something that you can't count on, there's not a lot of confidence out there.

The President. I appreciate you. That's the problem. That's the issue. It's the issue confronting people in the Democrat Party, issue confronting people in the Republican Party. And the fundamental question in Washington, DC, is, is there the political will to do what's right, to answer the question Bobby just brought up, and that is, how can you look a worker in the eye and say, "You're working hard. You're contributing in a system that's going bankrupt." Now is the time to get after it and solve this problem once and for all.

Bobby, thanks for coming. Very articulate. Good luck in your business. Glad you're here.

Mr. Kraft. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Christy Paavola.

Christy Paavola. Yes.

The President. College senior.

Ms. Paavola. Yes, I am, at Concordia University, Wisconsin.

The President. Yes, actually, I've been there.

Ms. Paavola. Yes?

The President. Yes. It's a great place.

Ms. Paavola. We think so.

The President. Beautiful campus. So when will you graduate?

Ms. Paavola. May 2006.

The President. Got another year to go.

Ms. Paavola. Yes.

The President. Are you out of school now?

Ms. Paavola. What?

The President. I mean, summer—a little summer break.

Ms. Paavola. Yes. Yes, we just finished Friday.

The President. Good. Well, congratulations. All A's?

Ms. Paavola. Hopeful.

The President. Yes—[laughter]—"None of your business, Mr. President." [Laughter] What would you like to do upon graduation?

Ms. Paavola. I would like to teach in the Lutheran schools for the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod.

The President. Awesome. Yes, good. Wants to be a teacher.

Ms. Paavola. Yes.

The President. Thanks for teaching. By the way, anybody who's looking for a way to contribute to society: Teach. And you don't have to be a classroom—you want to be a classroom teacher?

Ms. Paavola. Correct.

The President. Yes. You can mentor a child, by the way. That's teaching. You can help save a child's life by teaching him or her how to read. So I hope you do. Thanks for setting a good example.

Ms. Paavola. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. So here you are, senior in college, sitting right next to the President of the United States. [Laughter]

Ms. Paavola. Yes. [Laughter]

The President. You got any thoughts about Social Security?

Ms. Paavola. Yes. I don't think it's going to be there when I retire, which is really scary.

The President. Interesting, isn't it? They took a survey amongst youngsters. Somebody explained to me, I didn't actually watch—see the survey, but I heard what the person said. He said more people are—that are Christy's age think they're more likely to see a UFO than get a Social Security check. [Laughter] Pretty frightening when you think about the fact that a lot of young people are going to be putting a lot of money into a system that may not be around. So we're sitting here with a senior in college saying, "I don't think the system is going to be around."

Got anything else you want to say?

Ms. Paavola. I really like the idea of personal savings accounts. I like the fact that I have control over my money, and I have the assurance of knowing that that money will be there when I retire.

The President. Yes, thanks. That's a pretty sophisticated point of view for a college senior. I appreciate it. I hope people your age are paying attention to the issue.

Ms. Paavola. Hopefully. It's an important issue.

The President. It's a huge issue. It's a huge issue when you think about working hard and putting payroll tax into a system that's going broke. Imagine that. Just say we just started anew, and I say, "All of you who want to contribute hard-earned money to a system that will be broke within 20 years, please raise your hand." Not a lot of contributors. You don't have the choice. But we've got a choice in Washington to do something about it. That's what the choice is, and I intend—[applause].

Now is your chance. All kinds of cameras. [Laughter]

[Ms. Paavola made further remarks.]

The President. There you go. Well, I appreciate you coming.

Ms. Paavola. Thank you very much.

The President. You did a heck of a job. You deserve an "A." You'll have to carry it over for next year, though.

Ms. Paavola. Okay.

The President. Good job. Thanks for coming.

Ms. Paavola. Thank you.

The President. Andrea Marton, welcome.

Andrea Marton. Thank you. It's an honor to be here, Mr. President.

The President. Andrea, just a little bit about yourself.

Ms. Marton. Well, first of all, I'm assistant director at a preschool in Germantown, Rainbows End.

The President. Good. Got a child?

Ms. Marton. Yes, I do. He's three, and it's one of the hardest jobs I've ever had to do.

The President. Yes. Listen, Andrea is a single mom. Being a single mom is the hardest job in America. And I want to thank you for being a good mom. So you go to work. How is it?

Ms. Marton. I love it. I love being with kids. I love improving the future, and they are the future.

The President. You bet.

Ms. Marton. I come from a long line of teachers.

The President. Do you really?

Ms. Marton. Yes. Both my parents are teachers, and my grandfather was a teacher.

The President. Are they here?

Ms. Marton. Yes, they are—my parents. Yes, they are.

The President. Right here in the audience?

Ms. Marton. Yes, over there.

Mr. Marton. You're doing great, Andrea!

The President. What did he say?

Ms. Marton. I'm doing great.

The President. I'm not going to comment about your hair. [Laughter] Thanks for coming.

So, tell me, the Social Security issue interests you?

Ms. Marton. Yes. Well, being a single mother and part of the working poor, it's very important for me to have something to rely on. And with the current system in place, we look down the road and it's not going to be there. And if it is there, it's going to be real slim.

The President. You paying payroll taxes?

Ms. Marton. Oh, you better believe it. [Laughter]

The President. Do you feel it?

Ms. Marton. I don't see it.

The President. But you feel it.

Ms. Marton. Oh, yes.

The President. Well, you see why—you see what would have been and what wasn't when you get your check stub, right?

Ms. Marton. Right, right, right. So, for me, to have the option and the choice to put my money into something that I will see in the future, you know, is just great.

The President. Yes, see, it's an interesting thought, isn't it? A single mom sitting here saying she wants to be—have the opportunity to take some of her payroll taxes—you called yourself the working poor?

Ms. Marton. Yes, I did.

The President. Well, I hope that doesn't stay that way. Keep working.

Ms. Marton. I hope not, either.

The President. Yes. But the point is, is that this issue affects people from all walks of life, all income levels. But how about—I gave the example of a single mom working an \$8 job all her life and is able to put aside a third of her payroll taxes and watch it grow in a reasonable rate of return. That person will end up with \$100,000, coupled with a Social Security system that will have her benefits grow with wages.

And see—and then all of a sudden, Andrea is sitting there with \$100,000 as part of her retirement plan that she can do with whatever she wants. In other words, you can use it for your retirement or drop it on the little one.

Ms. Marton. Exactly, and that's—

The President. The little guy.

Ms. Marton. Yes, Angelo is a big part of my life, and I want to make sure that not only my future is secure but his as well. And with this plan, I believe that it is a great option to put my money into a fund that will earn interest and will be there, and for the next 40 to 50 years that I work, I'm going to see it, because I deserve it.

The President. There you go. I couldn't have said it better myself. Thanks for coming.

Okay, finally, we've got Joel and Tonya Bruins.

Tonya Bruins. Hello.

The President. Fine, fine. Where do you all live?

Joel Bruins. Are you going to do the talking or do you want me to? [Laughter]

The President. It's like one of these couple talk show things, you know. [Laughter] What's your favorite color? Anyway—[laughter].

Mr. Bruins. We live in Brandon, Wisconsin. I'm a dairy farmer. I'm a partner with both my brother, John, and my dad, Bill, which you met last year.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Bruins. And my uncle, Cal. And the name of the farm is Homeland Dairy. We milk about 500 cows. And—

The President. What's your job?

Mr. Bruins. I take care of the cows. I'm the herdsman.

The President. Herdsman, good.

Mr. Bruins. So any breeding and reproduction and calves and anything dealing with the cattle is what I take care of.

The President. Good, good.

Mr. Bruins. And personnel, I guess, I get into sometimes too. To all the 15 employees, they keep you on your toes.

The President. That's good. It's a good-size operation?

Mr. Bruins. Yes, very—it's a very good-size operation.

The President. Great. Tonya, you work?

Mrs. Bruins. Yes, I work at the National Bank of Waupan. I'm in the bookkeeping department there, and I also take care of all the ACH processing for the bank.

The President. Good. So you're familiar with finances?

Mrs. Bruins. Right.

The President. Give me your thoughts on Social Security. Dairy farmer sitting there—I can presume dairy farmers think about Social Security.

[Mr. Bruins made further remarks.]

The President. We've got a farmer right here, with his wife, Tonya, set up an IRA. It's pretty interesting, isn't it? In other words, this notion about investing—people watching their money is pretty well filtering through most of society. "Roth" is kind of a fancy word for dealing with tax going in and coming out, right?

Mr. Bruins. Right.

The President. Anyway, so, you all watch your investments grow?

Mr. Bruins. We watch them, yes, we do.

The President. Make the decision?

Mr. Bruins. Yes, we have made the decisions on it.

The President. Tonya, do you want to say something?

Mrs. Bruins. I'm also—my profit sharing plan at the bank allows me to control where I—what funds I want to put my—

The President. So you've got choices? How does it work?

Mrs. Bruins. Right, yes. We've got 15 different funds we can choose to invest in. You know, if we want to keep it high risk or low risk, it's our decision.

The President. Yes, see, it's an interesting idea, isn't it? The bank she works for, a little country bank, says, "Wait a minute, we're going to trust our employees to be able to make a decision with their own money about what to put the money in, 15 different options." Was it hard to learn about how to do that?

Mrs. Bruins. They keep us very well-informed. They have people that come in every year and advisers we can talk to and learn from them.

The President. Yes, we do—there are some pockets of financial illiteracy in our country, but there's nothing like solving financial illiteracy when you're watching—when you're making decisions for your own money. You start asking questions; there's advisers, there's people around to help you make a rational decision what to do with your own money. And a good way to learn is when you're watching your own money grow.

And so you get, what, quarterly statements, monthly statements?

Mrs. Bruins. Quarterly.

The President. Quarterly statements?

Mrs. Bruins. Yes.

The President. Open it right up, sit down at the kitchen table and say, "Look at the—look what's happening here."

Mrs. Bruins. Yes. We also have the option to change funds whenever we want to. We can check them online at any time as well.

The President. Sure. Think about that, though. It sounds pretty simple, but isn't it—doesn't it make sense to have people from all walks of life opening up a quarterly statement to watch their assets? It certainly makes

you pay attention to the decision Government makes. It is, to me, a healthy America when more people are able to say, "I'm watching my own assets." I like it when more Americans are owning their own home, owning their own business, and managing their own retirement plans. It's good for this country to have that kind of—[applause].

You've got the mic.

[Mr. Bruins made further remarks.]

The President. Yes, I appreciate that. By the way, one way to make sure families stay on the farm is to insist that the United States Congress get rid of the death tax forever.

Listen, I hope you've enjoyed this as much as I. I want to thank you all for coming. Good job. I'm just beginning this debate. I'm going to spend whatever time it takes to continue traveling this country and make it absolutely clear to the people, we've got a problem.

I will continue to reassure seniors who are counting on their Social Security check, you have nothing to worry about. You're going to get your check. I don't care what the mailers say, what the advertisements say. You will get your check. That's the pledge this Government has made, and it's a pledge we'll keep.

And I'm going to continue reminding youngsters that they need to get involved in this issue because if the United States Congress does not act, we have saddled a young generation with an incredible burden. And I don't think that's right. I think now is the time for people in Washington, DC, to set aside partisanship and come together and solve this issue one time and for all, for the good of the United States of America.

Thank you all for coming, and God bless.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at the Milwaukee Art Museum. In his remarks, he referred to Dennis Kuester, chairman, and Tim Sheehy, president, Metro Milwaukee Association of Commerce; David Gordon, director and chief executive officer, Milwaukee Art Museum; and Jeff Sherman, co-owner and president, and Andy Tarnoff, co-owner and publisher, OnMilwaukee.com.

Proclamation 7903—National Safe Boating Week, 2005

May 19, 2005

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Recreational boating has grown into one of our Nation's most popular pastimes, and as the summer approaches, millions of Americans will enjoy our country's beautiful waters. During National Safe Boating Week, we highlight our Nation's commitment to making recreational boating safer.

The number of boating fatalities has decreased over the last decade. By promoting the use of appropriate safety measures, we can save more lives and further reduce the number of injuries caused by boating accidents. The U.S. Coast Guard and others recommend four guidelines for safe boating: wear properly fitted life jackets; get vessels checked for safety; never boat under the influence of alcohol or drugs; and get proper training about the safe operation of boats. By adhering to these simple suggestions, boaters can keep themselves and others safe as they enjoy our Nation's waterways.

In recognition of the importance of safe boating practices, the Congress, by joint resolution approved June 4, 1958 (36 U.S.C. 131), as amended, has authorized and requested the President to proclaim annually the 7-day period prior to Memorial Day weekend as "National Safe Boating Week."

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 21 through May 27, 2005, as National Safe Boating Week. I encourage the Governors of the 50 States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and officials of other areas subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to join in observing this week. I also urge all Americans to learn more about safe boating practices, wear life jackets, take advantage of boating safety programs throughout the year, and always engage in proper and responsible conduct while on the water.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand five, and of

the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:04 a.m., May 20, 2005]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 23.

Proclamation 7904—National Maritime Day, 2005

May 19, 2005

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

America's merchant mariners make our Nation more secure and our economy stronger. Throughout our history, they have promoted commerce and protected our freedom. On National Maritime Day, we honor the dedicated service of the United States Merchant Marine.

Each year, the men and women of the U.S. maritime transportation system move more than 2 billion tons of cargo along our waterways and across the open seas. Many of the raw materials Americans purchase are transported by merchant vessels, and merchant mariners ship agricultural products and finished goods in and out of the United States every day.

Merchant mariners have also served in every conflict in our Nation's history. The U.S. Merchant Marine helps provide our Nation's Armed Forces with crucial supplies and equipment. These brave men and women demonstrate courage, love of country, and devotion to duty, and we especially honor those who have made the ultimate sacrifice in defense of our Nation. The United States is safer and the world is more peaceful because of the work of our merchant mariners, and we are grateful for their service.

In recognition of the importance of the U.S. Merchant Marine, the Congress, by joint resolution approved on May 20, 1933, as amended, has designated May 22 of each year as "National Maritime Day," and has authorized and requested that the President

issue an annual proclamation calling for its appropriate observance.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 22, 2005, as National Maritime Day. I call upon the people of the United States to celebrate this observance and to display the flag of the United States at their homes and in their communities. I also request that all ships sailing under the American flag dress ship on that day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:04 a.m., May 20, 2005]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 23.

Notice—Continuation of the National Emergency Protecting the Development Fund for Iraq and Certain Other Property in Which Iraq Has an Interest

May 19, 2005

On May 22, 2003, by Executive Order 13303, I declared a national emergency protecting the Development Fund for Iraq and certain other property in which Iraq has an interest, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701–1706) (IEEPA). I took this action to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States posed by the obstacles to the orderly reconstruction of Iraq, the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in the country, and the development of political, administrative, and economic institutions in Iraq constituted by the threat of attachment or other judicial process against the Development Fund for Iraq, Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products, and interests therein, and proceeds, obligations, or any financial instruments of any nature what-

soever arising from or related to the sale or marketing thereof.

On August 28, 2003, in Executive Order 13315, I expanded the scope of this national emergency to block the property of the former Iraqi regime, its senior officials and their family members as the removal of Iraqi property from that country by certain senior officials of the former Iraqi regime and their immediate family members constitutes an obstacle to the orderly reconstruction of Iraq, the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in the country, and the development of political, administrative, and economic institutions in Iraq.

On July 29, 2004, in Executive Order 13350, I amended the Annex to Executive Order 13315 to include certain persons determined to have been subject to economic sanctions pursuant to Executive Orders 12722 and 12724. Because of their association with the prior Iraqi regime, I determined that these persons present an obstacle to the orderly reconstruction of Iraq, the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in that country, and the development of political, administrative, and economic institutions in Iraq and, therefore, such persons should be subject to sanctions under Executive Order 13315.

Executive Order 13350 also amended Executive Order 13290 of March 20, 2003, in which, consistent with section 203(a)(1)(C) of IEEPA, 50 U.S.C. 1702(a)(1)(C), I ordered that certain blocked funds held in the United States in accounts in the name of the Government of Iraq, the Central Bank of Iraq, Rafidain Bank, Rasheed Bank, or the State Organization for Marketing Oil be confiscated and vested in the Department of the Treasury. I originally exercised these authorities pursuant to Executive Order 12722. In light of the changed circumstances in Iraq and my decision to terminate the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12722, I determined that the exercise of authorities in Executive Order 13290 should continue in order to address the national emergency declared in Executive Order 13303 of May 22, 2003, as expanded in scope in Executive Order 13315 of August 28, 2003, regarding the obstacles posed to the orderly reconstruction of Iraq. Executive

Order 13350 amends Executive Order 13290 to that effect.

On November 29, 2004, in Executive Order 13364, I modified the scope of this national emergency to address the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States posed by the threat of attachment or other judicial process against the Central Bank of Iraq. I also determined that, consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1483 and 1546, the steps taken in Executive Order 13303 to deal with this national emergency need to be limited so that such steps do not apply with respect to any final judgment arising out of a contractual obligation entered into by the Government of Iraq, including any agency or instrumentality thereof, after June 30, 2004, and so that, with respect to Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products and interests therein, such steps shall apply only until title passes to the initial purchaser.

Because the obstacles to the orderly reconstruction of Iraq, the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in the country, and the development of political, administrative, and economic institutions in Iraq continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, the national emergency declared on May 22, 2003, and the measures adopted on that date, August 28, 2003, July 29, 2004, and November 29, 2004, to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond May 22, 2005. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency protecting the Development Fund for Iraq and certain other property in which Iraq has an interest.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 19, 2005.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:45 p.m., May 19, 2005]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on May 20.

**Message to the Congress on
Continuation of the National
Emergency Protecting the
Development Fund for Iraq and
Certain Other Property in Which
Iraq Has an Interest**

May 19, 2005

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice to the *Federal Register* for publication. This notice states that the national emergency declared in Executive Order 13303 of May 22, 2003, as expanded in scope by Executive Order 13315 of August 28, 2003, modified in Executive Order 13350 of July 29, 2004, and further modified in Executive Order 13364 of November 29, 2004, is to continue in effect beyond May 22, 2005. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was published in the *Federal Register* on May 21, 2004 (69 FR 29409).

The threats of attachment or other judicial process against (i) the Development Fund for Iraq, (ii) Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products, and interests therein, and proceeds, obligations, or any financial instruments of any nature whatsoever arising from or related to the sale or marketing thereof, or (iii) any accounts, assets, investments, or any other property of any kind owned by, belonging to, or held by, on behalf of, or otherwise for the Central Bank of Iraq create obstacles to the orderly reconstruction of Iraq, the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in the country, and the development of political, administrative, and economic institutions in Iraq. Accordingly, these obstacles continue to pose an unusual

and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency protecting the Development Fund for Iraq, certain other property in which Iraq has an interest, and the Central Bank of Iraq, and to maintain in force the sanctions to respond to this threat.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 19, 2005.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting the “2005
Comprehensive Report on U.S.
Trade and Investment Policy Toward
Sub-Saharan Africa and
Implementation of the African
Growth and Opportunity Act”**

May 19, 2005

To the Congress of the United States:

Consistent with title I of the Trade and Development Act of 2000, I am providing a report prepared by my Administration, the “2005 Comprehensive Report on U.S. Trade and Investment Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa and Implementation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.”

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 19, 2005.

**Remarks at the National Catholic
Prayer Breakfast**

May 20, 2005

Thank you for that warm reception, especially for a Methodist. *[Laughter]* It’s an honor to be here at the Second Annual National Catholic Prayer Breakfast. This is a new tradition, yet its promises are timeless for Catholic Americans, to thank the Lord for the blessing of freedom, to renew our shared dedication to this great republic, and to pray that America uses the gift of freedom to build a culture of life.

I am sorry that Laura is not here. You probably think she’s preparing a couple of

new one-liners. *[Laughter]* But in fact, she’s winging her way to Jordan and Egypt and Israel to spread the freedom agenda. But I know if she were here, she would join me in thanking you and millions of others whom we’ll never get to say thanks to in person for the countless prayers. It’s an amazing experience to be the President of a nation where strangers from all religions pray for me and Laura. And I will tell you, it gives me such peace of mind and enables me to do my job much better when I’m lifted up in prayer. Thank you for your prayers.

I want to thank Leonard Leo for his kind introduction. I want to thank Joe Cella, the president of the National Catholic Prayer Breakfast. I want to thank His Eminence Cardinal Theodore McCarrick. What a fine man; what a beacon of hope. His Eminence shines brightly in the Nation’s Capital.

I appreciate Archbishop Chaput of Denver. Thank you for being here, sir. I apologize to him for not being able to listen to his address. He said, “We’re paying you a lot of money. Get back to work.” *[Laughter]* Fortunately, he didn’t say, “We’re paying you too much money. Get back to work.” *[Laughter]*

I appreciate Archbishop Gomez from the great State of Texas. Sister, thank you very much. Admiral, thank you very much, sir.

Carl Anderson, the Supreme—Knights of Columbus, is with us today. Carl, thank you for your friendship.

The Catholic contribution to American freedom goes back to the founding of our country. In 1790, a newly inaugurated George Washington, the first George W.—*[laughter]*—addressed a letter to all Catholics in America. He assured them that “your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution.” I’m honored to stand before you to offer my gratitude for the work American Catholic sons and daughters are doing for our Nation. This work includes the incredible acts of compassion through our faith-based institutions that help Americans in need, especially the Catholic schools that educate millions of our fellow citizens and deliver hope to inner-city children of all faiths.

This morning we first thank God for the shared blessings of American liberty. Catholics have always known that a society built on respect for the religious beliefs of others would be a land where they could achieve and prosper.

When the French writer de Tocqueville visited these shores back in the 1830s, he noted that the most democratic country in the world was also the one where the Catholic religion was making the most progress. He called Catholics the most faithful believers in our land, yet also the most independent of citizens—[laughter]—as I've learned from dealing with Senator Santorum. [Laughter]

This morning we also reaffirm that freedom rests on the self-evident truths about human dignity. Pope Benedict XVI recently warned that when we forget these truths, we risk sliding into a dictatorship of relativism where we can no longer defend our values. Catholics and non-Catholics alike can take heart in the man who sits on the chair of Saint Peter, because he speaks with affection about the American model of liberty rooted in moral conviction.

This morning we pray for the many Catholics who serve America in the cause of freedom. One of them is an Army Chaplain named Tim Vakoc. He's a beloved priest who was seriously wounded in Iraq last May. We pray for his recovery; we're inspired by his sacrifice. In the finest tradition of American chaplains, he once told his sister, "The safest place for me to be is in the center of God's will, and if that is in the line of fire, that's where I'll be." Father Tim's sister, Anita Brand, and her family are with us today, and a grateful nation expresses our gratitude to a brave reverend.

Catholics have made sacrifices throughout American history because they understand that freedom is a divine gift that carries with it serious responsibilities. Among the greatest of these responsibilities is protecting the most vulnerable members of our society. That was the message that Pope John Paul II proclaimed so tirelessly throughout his own life, and it explains the remarkable outpouring of love for His Holiness at the funeral mass that Laura and I were privileged to attend in Rome. It explains why when the men were carrying his wooden casket up the

stairs and they turned to show the casket to the millions that were there, that just as the casket crests, the sun shown for all to see.

The best way to honor this great champion of human freedom is to continue to build a culture of life where the strong protect the weak. So today I ask the prayers of all Catholics for America's continued trust in God's purpose, for the wisdom to do what's right, and for the strength and the conviction that so long as America remains faithful to its founding truths, America will always be free.

Thank you for allowing me to come. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:42 a.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Leonard Leo, member of the board of directors, National Catholic Prayer Breakfast; Theodore E. Cardinal McCarrick, Archbishop of Washington; Charles J. Chaput, Archbishop of Denver; Jose H. Gomez, Archbishop of San Antonio; Rear Adm. Louis V. Iasiello, USN, chief of Navy chaplains; and Carl A. Anderson, supreme knight, Knights of Columbus. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen of Denmark and an Exchange With Reporters

May 20, 2005

President Bush. The Prime Minister and I will be glad to answer two questions per side.

First, Mr. Prime Minister, welcome back. It is so wonderful to see you. He's a good friend of mine. Denmark is a good friend of America. I appreciate your contributions to transatlantic ties. The Prime Minister has made very constructive and helpful comments to make sure that the transatlantic ties between the United States and Europe are strong. And I want to thank you for your leadership role.

I also appreciate your clear understanding about the historic times in which we live, times in which more and more people are

becoming free. I appreciate your strong support for those who desire to live in a democracy in Iraq. I thank you for your contributions to a new democracy called Afghanistan. I thank you for your very constructive work in helping the Palestinians develop a democratic state that can live side by side with Israel in peace.

So welcome back. It's good to see you, sir.

Prime Minister Rasmussen. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I'm delighted to be back in Washington. It's my fourth visit as Prime Minister, which underlines that the United States and Denmark are close friends and allies. We share the same fundamental values. We are allied in our efforts to promote freedom and democracy worldwide.

And I'm happy to say, in addition to this, that I appreciate very much your straightforward style. I consider you a friend, and I know that with you, I'll always have a very frank discussion and exchange of views. So I'm happy to be back.

President Bush. Fortunately, he's not that good a friend that I would go running with him. [Laughter] He's one of the best runners in the world, amongst the world leaders. He's a good one.

Deb [Deb Riechmann, Associated Press].

Stem Cell Research

Q. Mr. President, on stem cells, specifically, would you veto legislation that loosened the requirement on Federal funding for stem cell research? And secondly—

President Bush. Deb—

Q. —what is your reaction to the news about the South Koreans on embryonic—

President Bush. I'm—first, I'm very concerned about cloning. I worry about a world in which cloning becomes acceptable. Secondly, I made my position very clear on embryonic stem cells. I'm a strong supporter of adult stem cell research, of course. But I made it very clear to the Congress that the use of Federal money, taxpayers' money to promote science which destroys life in order to save life is—I'm against that. And therefore, if the bill does that, I will veto it.

Investigations of Prisoner Abuse

Q. Mr. President, how do you react to the continuing reports about mistreatment of

prisoners held by American military around the world, and also the perception abroad that the ones that are paying for it are low-ranking soldiers but that nobody higher up is taking any responsibility?

President Bush. I think the world ought to be—pay attention to the contrast between a society which was run by a brutal tyrant in which there was no transparency and a society in which the whole world watches a Government find the facts, lay the facts out for the citizens to see, and that punishment, when appropriate, be delivered.

If I'm not mistaken, I think about over 20 percent of the people thus far that have been held to account as a result of the Abu Ghraib issue have been officers. There have been over, I think, nine investigations, eight or nine investigations by independent investigators that have made the reports very public. I'm comfortable that we're getting to the bottom of the situation, and I know we're doing so in a transparent way. Obviously, ours is a country that respects human rights and human dignity, and if those rights and dignity have been denied, we will hold people to account.

Steve [Steve Holland, Reuters].

Motivation of Terrorists

Q. Sir, are you worried that the publication of the Saddam photo, along with the Newsweek story, will further inflame tensions and inspire the Iraq insurgency and anti-Americanism in the Middle East?

President Bush. I think the Iraq insurgency is inspired by their desire to stop the march of freedom. Remember, these are ideologists of—that murder innocent people in order to spread their dark vision of hate. And therefore, when light begins to show up in the form of democracy, it frightens them. There is no future for these haters in a free world. And so they're inspired by the fact that they see democracy emerging in Iraq. That's what causes them to want to kill. They're frightened by the fact—and inspired the wrong way, by the way—by the fact that Afghanistan is free. They're seeing the people in Lebanon demand free and fair elections. And their ideology cannot survive in a democratic society. See, the only way they

can survive is to—is to try to shake our will by killing innocent life.

And that's why our strategy in Iraq is to train the Iraqis so that they, themselves, can fight off these terrorists. Listen, 8½ million people went to the polls, in spite of the fact that the—people had been killed and there was incredible intimidation. And they defied the bombers. These people want to be free, and the killers don't want them to be free. And so our strategy is to help the Iraqis realize the dream of a free society. And when the Iraqi troops are properly trained—and we're headed in that direction—of course it will take less of a coalition effort to help this new democracy get started.

Yes, Steve.

Q. What about the Saddam photo? Does that have any—

President Bush. Well, you asked me whether or not that would inspire people. You know, I don't think a photo inspires murderers. I think they're inspired by an ideology that is so barbaric and backwards that it's hard for many in the Western world to comprehend how they think. But I would just remind people, if you want to know how ideologically grim their vision of the world is, just remember the Taliban. They said, "If you don't agree with our religious views, you'll be prosecuted. If you're a woman who seeks freedom, you'll be beaten." So these people are motivated by a vision of the world that is backward and barbaric.

Timetable for Troop Withdrawal From Iraq

Q. Mr. President, while the Danish people might support the war and appreciate the progress in Iraq, they're also curious when our soldiers will come back home. Can you elaborate on that?

President Bush. Well, I appreciate that question a lot, and of course I get asked that in our own country a lot. And my answer is, it makes no sense to set a timetable. And the reason why is, is because it will allow an enemy to adjust.

On the other hand, as I tell our folks, is that we would like to get our troops out as quickly as possible. And the definition of that will be how soon our commanders on the

ground think that the Iraqis are able to take the fight to the enemy.

I just got off of a video—which I'm looking to briefing the Prime Minister on—with General Casey, who is our general on the ground; he's the commander of the coalition forces. And he was describing to us the Iraqi training and the quality of training. And some units are in really good shape, and other units need additional work. But one of the things that's important to understand is the Iraqi Government understands that as civilian governments change, there needs to be stability in the military and a chain of command that links top to bottom. And General Casey knows we're making progress toward establishing that chain of command.

My answer to the Danish people is, as soon as we can possibly get it done. We've got to complete the mission. A free Iraq in the midst of the Middle East is going to be a powerful—a powerful agent for peace.

Listen, thank you all for coming.

Q. One more?

President Bush. We don't want to break precedent. Was that you, Mark [Mark Knoller, CBS Radio], who asked that?

Q. It was.

President Bush. No. [Laughter] You know better than that.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:48 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Gen. George W. Casey, Jr., USA, commanding general, Multi-National Force—Iraq. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Konstandinos Karamanlis of Greece

May 20, 2005

President Bush. Thank you all for coming. It's my pleasure to welcome the Prime Minister back. It's good to see you, sir.

America and Greece have got a strategic partnership. That's important. It's important for our respective peoples, and it's important we work together to spread freedom and peace.

I want to welcome you here. Last time you were here, we were talking about the Olympics. I told the Prime Minister I was confident that the Government would make sure the Olympics were secure. I was so confident I sent my family. And not only did you keep your word, my parents and my—some of my relatives had a fabulous time in a spectacular country.

I look forward to visiting with you on a variety of subjects, the freedom agenda, freedom in the greater Middle East, the Balkans. I look forward to talking to you about how best we can work together to continue to spread liberty. So I'm proud you're here, and welcome to the United States.

Prime Minister Karamanlis. Well, it's my second visit with President Bush within almost a year. And I'm happy to say that this reflects the excellent bilateral relations we have and, of course, our determination to further our partnership to promote the areas of mutual interest, the common goals we have. And I think that it's going to be the outcome of this meeting as well to keep working closely in matters which are very important to both of us in both countries.

President Bush. Good man. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:14 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Message on the Observance of Cuban Independence Day, 2005

May 20, 2005

I send greetings to those celebrating the 103rd anniversary of Cuban Independence.

Freedom is the birthright of all mankind. Leaders across the Americas understand that the hope for peace in our world depends on the unity of free nations. America's continued support of democratic institutions, constitutional processes, and basic liberties gives hope and strength to those struggling in our hemisphere to reclaim the rule of law and their God-given rights. As we observe Cuba's independence today, we look forward to the day when Cuba is free, and my Administration supports efforts to hasten that day's com-

ing. The tide of freedom is spreading across the globe, and it will reach Cuban shores. No tyrant can stand forever against the power of liberty because the hope of freedom is found in every heart.

This milestone is an opportunity to celebrate the Cuban culture and the many contributions Cuban Americans have made to the United States. By sharing your proud history with all Americans, you enrich our society and contribute to the diversity that makes our Nation great.

May God bless the Cuban people.

George W. Bush

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

May 14

In the morning, at Camp David, MD, the President had an intelligence briefing.

May 15

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

May 16

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to West Point, VA, where he participated in a tour of the Virginia BioDiesel refinery.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

May 17

In the morning, the President had a telephone conversation with former Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government to thank him for his service and to

discuss the situation in Iraq. He then had an intelligence briefing.

Later in the morning, in the Oval Office, the President met with former President Nelson Mandela of South Africa. He then met with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

In the afternoon, in the Oval Office, the President met with judicial nominees Priscilla R. Owen and Janice Rogers Brown. Later, in the Rose Garden, he participated in a photo opportunity with a group from the Sunshine Kids Foundation. He then had a briefing on the national economy.

The White House announced that the President will welcome President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) of the Palestinian Authority to the White House on May 26.

The President announced his intention to nominate Charles S. Ciccolella to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans' Employment and Training.

The President announced his intention to nominate Reuben Jeffery III to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, and to be Chairman of the Commission.

The President announced his intention to nominate James A. Rispoli to be Assistant Secretary of Energy, Environmental Management.

The President announced his intention to nominate Linda Jewell to be Ambassador to Ecuador.

The President announced his intention to nominate John F. Tefft to be Ambassador to Georgia.

The President announced his intention to appoint Daniel H. Stone as a member of the Committee for Purchase From People Who Are Blind or Severely Disabled.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships: Richard A. Bennett; Terry E. Branstad; Archie W. Dunham; P. Robert Fannin; Cathy Gillespie; Anne Heiligenstein; Carol Jean Jordan; David M. Roederer; Judy Baar Topinka; and William L. Webb III.

May 18

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. He then met in the Oval Office with Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld.

Later in the morning, in the Oval Office, the President met with Prime Minister Ahmed Mohamed Nazif of Egypt.

In the afternoon, in the Cabinet Room, the President met with Republican Members of the House of Representatives to discuss legislative priorities.

Later in the afternoon, the President dropped by a meeting with members of a coalition from the Dominican Republic supporting passage of the Central American Free Trade Agreement.

May 19

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. He then traveled to Milwaukee, WI. While en route aboard Air Force One, he participated in an interview with Craig Gilbert of the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

Later in the morning, upon arrival in Milwaukee, the President met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Sharon Semrow. Later, he met with employees of OnMilwaukee.com at their company office.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The White House announced that the President will travel to the United Kingdom to attend the G-8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, on July 6-8.

May 20

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, in the Oval Office, he met with leaders of the Cuban American community.

The White House announced that the President will welcome Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany to the White House for a meeting and working lunch on June 27.

The President announced his intention to nominate Tom Luce to be Assistant Secretary of Education (Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Development).

The President announced his intention to nominate Arlene Holen to be a member of

the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission.

The President announced his intention to appoint Irma B. Elder as a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships.

The President announced his intention to appoint Charles Patrick Garcia and Nancy R. Kudla as members of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Air Force Academy.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted May 16

Larry Miles Dinger,
of Iowa, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of the Fiji Islands, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Nauru, the Kingdom of Tonga, Tuvalu, and the Republic of Kiribati.

Eric S. Edelman,
of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, vice Douglas Jay Feith.

Janice B. Gardner,
of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis (new position).

Michael E. Hess,
of New York, to be an Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, vice Roger P. Winter, resigned.

Terence Patrick McCulley,
of Oregon, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Pleni-

potentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Mali.

Victoria Nuland,
of Connecticut, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be U.S. Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

Sandra L. Pack,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Teresa M. Ressel, resigned.

Daniel R. Stanley,
of Kansas, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Powell A. Moore.

Paul A. Trivelli,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Nicaragua.

Ann Louise Wagner,
of Missouri, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Luxembourg.

Submitted May 17

Charles S. Ciccolella,
of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans' Employment and Training, vice Frederico Juarbe, Jr., resigned.

Reuben Jeffery III,
of the District of Columbia, to be Chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, vice James E. Newsome, resigned.

Reuben Jeffery III,
of the District of Columbia, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for a term expiring April 13, 2007, vice Barbara Pedersen Holum, term expired.

Linda Jewell,
of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United

States of America to the Republic of Ecuador.

James A. Rispoli,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Environmental Management), vice Jessie Hill Roberson, resigned.

John F. Tefft,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Georgia.

Submitted May 19

Edmund S. Hawley,
of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of Homeland Security, vice David M. Stone, resigned.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released May 16

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Fact sheet: Developing Renewable Fuels and Clean Diesel Technologies

Released May 17

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Statement by the Press Secretary: Visit by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas to Washington

Released May 18

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Advance text of the President's remarks at the International Republican Institute dinner

Released May 19

Transcript of a press gaggle by Deputy Press Secretary Trent Duffy

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary: President Bush To Attend 2005 Group of Eight (G-8) Summit

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary: 2005 Comprehensive Report on U.S. Trade and Investment Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa and Implementation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act

Released May 20

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Press Secretary Trent Duffy

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary: President To Welcome German Chancellor Schroeder

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary congratulating Honduras on the approval of its Millennium Challenge Account Compact by the Millennium Challenge Corporation Board

Acts Approved by the President

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.